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The Shape of Things

IN VOTING TO SUSTAIN THE APPOINTMENT of Bertrand Russell to the faculty of the College of the City of New York, the Board of Higher Education withstood a formidable united front of small minds and large prejudices. The closeness of the vote—eleven to seven—is a measure of the ferocity of the campaign against Russell, and there is no sign that the opposition will yield gracefully. Legal action has already been instituted by the diehards, who will seek to have the appointment annulled by the courts. There will be further fireworks when the college budget comes up for consideration. In view of the storm of opposition the board's decision is an important victory for academic freedom. We cannot help regretting, however, that some of Dr. Russell's defenders sought to vindicate the appointment by proving that his thoughts are as safe and sane as George F. Babbitt's. If Dr. Russell were as innocuous as some of his supporters insisted, he would not be the center of such a storm.

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MAYOR LAGUARDIA CONTINUES TO PLAY A strange role, for a friend of labor, in his controversy with the Transport Workers' Union in New York. On the eve of a conference with John L. Lewis, the Mayor named George Keegan, general manager of the Interborough subway system, to the Board of Transportation which will run all the high-speed lines after they come under municipal ownership and operation. Keegan has an anti-labor past, although the I. R. T. was recently forced to grant the Transport Workers a closed shop. The board post has been vacant for two years, and some wonder why it was so suddenly filled. It is suspected that the Mayor feared Lewis would ask to have C. I. O. subway workers represented. The other two members of the board are Francis X. Sullivan, counsel for the State Federation of Labor, and John Delaney, an old-line Tammany politician who once carried a card in Big Six. Sullivan is no friend of the C. I. O., and Delaney is no friend of collective bargaining. After the conference with Lewis the Mayor seemed somewhat less adamant, and there will be another conference on March 27. The Transport Workers' Union, as representative of the majority, is asking for the right to be the exclusive bargaining agency for all the subway workers. This the Mayor has yet to concede, although majority rule is a basic principle of the Wagner Act.

*

THE ALL-INDIA NATIONAL CONGRESS MUST decide this week between an immediate campaign of civil disobedience as urged by its more vigorous elements and Gandhi's moderate program looking toward "moral independence" from England. The Patna resolution calling for immediate independence and the dissociation of India from the European war has been accepted by the Congress Committee against the wishes of Gandhi. Whether the full Congress will ratify this action is difficult to predict. Despite the apparent tactical weakness of his position, Gandhi retains his immense personal prestige with the Congress. In requesting a postponement of the campaign for civil disobedience, his hand has been strengthened by the recent affair in London in which an Indian gunman killed Sir Michael O'Dwyer, former Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, and wounded the Marquis of Zetland, the present Secretary of State for India. Most Indians will sympathize with Gandhi in his insistence that a civil-disobedience campaign can succeed only if it is not marred by violence. Subhas Chandra Bose, former Congress President and leader of the anti-compromise bloc, has drafted a program which breaks with Gandhi not only on the question of immediate tactics but on long-range economic policy. Adoption of this program in its entirety is unlikely. Neither the moderate elements within the Congress nor the left-wing group associated with Jawaharlal Nehru seem ready for such a break. It is more probable that some compromise will be reached on a program that will carry Gandhi along. An independence movement without Gandhi would be unthinkable.

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PLANS FOR INSTALLING WANG CHING-WEI as the Japanese puppet ruler of the occupied areas of China appear to be nearing fruition after months of delay. Wang has issued a formal statement setting forth

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his program for the new "state," and Premier Yonai has replied with an official pledge of Japanese support. General Nobuyuki Abe, who recently stepped aside as Premier, has been selected to represent Japan at the inauguration, the date of which has not yet been set. That the establishment of a centralized puppet regime will be an important victory for Japan cannot be denied. It is probable that Wang will command a certain amount of support from conservative elements in the occupied areas. The establishment of his rule is not likely to prove as serious, however, as it would have been six months ago, when it was first announced. Wang's prestige has suffered considerably in the interval as a result of the defection of his chief subordinates and the premature publication of the terms of his agreement with Japan. It looks as if the Japanese no longer had very much hope of winning substantial Chinese support for his government. Their immediate objective seems to be rather to obtain recognition of the new regime from at least some of the European powers. Italy has already indicated a willingness to extend recognition. But the Japanese are doubtless playing for higher stakes. There seems to be hope in Tokyo that England, anxious to regain Japanese friendship as a defense against Soviet influence in the Far East, may be persuaded to recognize Wang's "government." But it is fair to assume that Britain will take no such action without the assent of the United States. And we cannot believe that Washington, despite its recent appeasement tendencies, has fallen so low as to give its approval.

*

BREAKING A SILENCE THAT HAD LASTED nearly five days, Martin Dies talked again last week. Promising to uncover the operations of the Soviet secret police in America, he hinted darkly that "people in government circles" were involved in the GPU network; and as the Dies committee's next attraction he advertised the "head of the GPU in this country." Whether Mr. Dies will fulfil his boasts remains to be seen. He has failed to do so on many similar occasions. For months he talked glibly and loud of "Communists in the New Deal"; when asked to produce a single exhibit neither Mr. Dies nor his committee could find one. The important thing is the method: the damage is done in advance; suspicions are aroused that somehow the New Deal is linked with the GPU; and the impression lingers even if the details never appear. When the Dies committee's appropriation was renewed, his supporters assured everyone that Mr. Dies was taking the vows of silence and henceforth would speak only when his committee had something to say. The "new" Martin Dies, as represented in his articles in *Liberty* and in his current blasts, bears a striking resemblance to the Martin Dies who once called himself head of the demagogues' club.

THE AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH Company has agreed to reduce its rates on calls of more than 420 miles to an amount equivalent to $5,500,000 annually, assuming that there is no increase in business as a result of the reduction. In announcing this development the Federal Communications Commission points out that the reductions were negotiated without the necessity of any long-drawn-out rate proceedings and praises the company for "pursuing a forward-looking policy." We do not begrudge this praise, but we think that both the commission and the public it represents should follow their thank-yous with immediate requests for more. The sum involved in this concession is something under 3 per cent of the net earnings on A. T. and T. stock last year and compares with an increase in 1939 over 1938 earnings of nearly $45,000,000. Moreover, rate concessions nearly always increase traffic and speedily diminish the apparent loss of revenue involved. We should like to suggest, therefore, that the Telephone Company take advantage of its fine financial position to cheapen the service further. Particularly expensive at present are its charges for comparatively short distances. An evening call from New York to Stamford, Connecticut—a distance of some forty miles—costs more than an evening call of four hundred miles from either London or Stockholm. Surely the A. T. and T. should blush to be outdone by British and Swedish state enterprises, both of which incidentally manage to return very satisfactory profits.

*

SAMUEL UNTERMYER KNEW WALL STREET'S tricks so well that he couldn't resist the temptation to take a profitable flier in them himself on occasion. But unlike the pompous Bumbles who are among the Street's legal luminaries, he regarded the complex chicanery of high finance with amused contempt rather than hypocritical reverence. He enjoyed tilting at some of our biggest corporate windmills in behalf of the small man. His address "Is There a Money Trust?" led to the famous Pujo money-trust investigation which he served so ably as counsel. His work in the Waters-Pierce Oil Company case showed what a sham was the Supreme Court order "dissolving" the Standard Oil trust. He had a hand in framing the Clayton Anti-Trust Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act. He was one of the earliest advocates of tax legislation to prevent undue concentration of wealth and of the kind of Stock Exchange and security legislation which the New Deal has enacted. He was for government ownership of utilities and of iron, coal, and copper mines. He was a Wall Street "maverick" whom the magnates hated but never dared despise. And he was a "maverick," too, among wealthy upper-class Jews who preferred to hush-hush Hitler rather than fight him with the boycott as Untermyer did.

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Peace Is a Weapon

THE defeat of Finland was a German even more than a Russian victory, and the intangible gains which accrue to Germany are even more important than the territorial spoils which pass to the Soviets. The latter, as Robert Dell points out in his article on page 385, are substantial enough, and they leave Finland with small possibilities of resisting further Russian aggression should Stalin decide to continue his imitation of Hitlerian tactics. But Russia has not won a cheap victory. It has had to pay heavily in casualties, and it has suffered a loss in prestige both because of the preliminary defeats experienced by its army and because of its abandonment of Mr. Kuusinen and its enforced rediscovery of a Finnish government it had pronounced "non-existent."

Germany's victory was gained without the loss of a single man, and the Reich is left with heightened prestige. Its threats to Sweden and Norway prevented those countries from sending military aid to Finland or permitting the Allies to send an expeditionary force. Moreover, it appears to have influenced the Finns against asking formal assistance from the West by hinting that it was prepared to join in the Russian attack. As Premier Ryti told the Finnish Parliament: "By accepting this [Allied] help we would have been drawn into the World War. . . . In all probability the opponents of the Western powers would have resorted to war against these troops, and our country thus would have become a battlefield also in the great war."

Whether, in these circumstances, the Allies should have brushed aside neutral protests and dispatched the largest force available to Finland without awaiting a formal invitation was and is a subject of heated debate both here and in Europe. In Britain especially there was acute division about the wisdom of forcing Russia into the enemy camp, and while the military advantage of opening a "northern flank" was not to be scorned, the risks involved were very considerable. Nor was it easy for countries fighting under the banner of democracy to decide to violate the neutrality of democratic countries. It is hardly becoming for Americans, who have criticized much milder breaches of international law by the Allies, to complain of their hesitation about such a major trespass.

But whether the Allies were right or wrong, the fact remains that Germany has scored heavily. It has cut off the northern countries as a possible avenue of attack, demonstrated once again its power to excite among small neutrals the same kind of fascinated terror which the snake inspires in rabbits, and helped Russia to end a campaign which was curtailing supplies needed to offset the Allied blockade. In addition, an attack on the other alternative front—the Near East—now becomes more difficult and dangerous for the Allies. Balkan countries which had been encouraged by Allied diplomatic and economic action to resist Nazi demands are already showing signs of renewed servility to Berlin. In Rumania King Carol is said to be contemplating further means to increase trade with Germany, and he has taken the significant step of releasing nearly all the pro-Nazi Iron Guards.

Considering, then, that Germany's diplomatic and strategic position has been appreciably strengthened, it may seem strange that this moment should be chosen in Berlin for a peace drive. For that, indeed, is what appears to be going on under a heavy smoke screen of bluster. But it must never be forgotten that peace on any terms which enabled Germany to hold on to its loot—and no other terms seem possible while it is strong and undefeated—would be the equivalent of victory. Such a peace would mean the abdication by the Allies of all authority east of the Rhine and would provide Hitler with the opportunity to organize Central and Southeastern Europe as a confederation of dependent states. That accomplished, he could obtain all he wanted from the West step by step without risk of armed resistance.

The present propaganda and diplomatic efforts of the Nazi government appear to be directed toward impressing on the Allies, and incidentally on Sumner Welles, the hopelessness of their situation. At best, it is insinuated, Britain and France can expect only a stalemate; at worst, a smashing defeat. The hastily arranged meeting on the Brenner between Hitler and Mussolini, obviously timed to buttress the reactions to the Finnish débâcle as well as to influence Mr. Welles, is being played up in Berlin as a sign of a reinforced axis policy. Hints are broadcast of pending agreement between Rome, Berlin, and Moscow; suggestions are thrown out of military assistance from Italy when the time is ripe. Meanwhile, it is declared, no opportunity will be lost to demonstrate to the Allies that Italy is Germany's ally "economically, politically, and ideologically."

It may be, of course, that Mussolini, noting the apparent improvement in Germany's situation, is preparing to join the band-wagon. We suspect, however, that this chat on the Brenner—which, incidentally, Italy has been busily fortifying against its axis partner—is intended mainly for its propaganda value. For whether or not Mussolini is willing to underwrite Germany's war, he is certainly willing to back a German peace from which he hopes to obtain pickings. It cannot be said, however, that there are any signs in London or Paris that these scare tactics are undermining the determination to continue the war. Nevertheless, there are evidently hopes in axis quarters that Mr. Welles will bring back such an unfavorable report of the Allied position that the President will be persuaded to attempt mediation and put the onus of refusal on Britain and France.

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Card for Mr. Hoover

SIX years ago Congress passed an act forbidding wire-tapping. Last week the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce favorably reported a resolution for an investigation of alleged wire-tapping by the FBI and other agencies, official and private. Now Attorney General Jackson has issued an order barring wire-tapping by the FBI in the future. The Attorney General's statement, admits that the FBI, despite the law, has been indulging in what Justice Holmes called the "dirty business" of wire-tapping. Yet Mr. Jackson's explanation seems to be couched in such terms as to deflect criticism from the official responsible for the wire-tapping: the press is told that the order was promulgated "on the recommendation of J. Edgar Hoover." It not only admits wire-tapping in the past but pleads for the right to tap wires in the future in kidnapping, extortion, and racketeering cases. The last is a category that vitally affects labor, for the federal racketeering law has been used not merely against racketeering by labor unions but against what the Department of Justice considered "uneconomic practices" by labor unions. The Attorney General's statement raises some disturbing questions. Would the FBI have gone on with its wire-tapping if no Senate investigation had been pending? Is it engaging in other illegal activities? Is this the opening gun of a campaign to legalize the "dirty business"?

We hope that the Attorney General will reconsider what seems to us his far too tender handling of Hoover in the matter of wire-tapping. He has set himself an excellent precedent in the Detroit cases, for he has now ordered a real investigation into charges made by Senator Norris. These charges indicate a revival of all the old FBI abuses. Mr. Jackson, after a preliminary inquiry into the Detroit raids, wrote Senator Norris that he had found "nothing to justify any charge of misconduct against the Federal Bureau of Investigation." But Senator Norris, in another letter, has provided specific details and asked whether the Attorney General did not make the previous statement after hearing "only one side of the controversy," that is, after "a review of the matter with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the District Attorney's office" in Detroit. The Attorney General's answer was to direct Henry Schweinhaut, chief of the civil-liberties unit of the department, to make a thorough investigation. "No prosecutions for opinions of any kind will be instituted while I am Attorney General," he declared. We honor him for his forthright action.

The Detroit arrests, according to Senator Norris's second letter, involved nothing "other than a technical violation of law." Yet if the facts alleged in his letter are correct, those arrested were treated like criminals of the most dangerous kind. "The woman taken into custody," Senator Norris wrote, "was arrested while she was in bed, compelled to dress practically in the presence of four or five Federal Bureau of Investigation men, and questioned almost constantly from the time of her arrest until she was taken into court at three o'clock in the afternoon. She was given only the vaguest idea as to the crime with which she was charged. She had no idea where she was being taken. She was frightened; she was dazed. She feared the men who were taking her away were a gang of kidnappers or hoodlums." In one case the FBI men obtained entrance to a physician's home in the middle of the night by telephoning that a seriously injured patient was being brought to see him. All those arrested were taken into custody under terrifying circumstances, awakened from sleep, handcuffed, and "subjected to third-degree methods from the time they were arrested until three o'clock in the afternoon." In one arrest the FBI agents broke down the door of a bedroom in order to obtain entrance. These are the methods of the terror, as practiced by dictators. Those who use them have no place in American government. We should rid ourselves of un-American men and methods now, before they have grown too strong to be eliminated. It would be well if a Senate committee looked into the FBI's card file. If it really is a list of persons dangerous to our form of government, it ought to include a card for "Hoover, J. Edgar."

Dorothy Thompson's Arithmetic

COLUMNIST DOROTHY THOMPSON has performed many minor miracles in her distinguished journalistic career, but none of them quite measure up to her achievements in the article which appeared in the New York *Herald Tribune* on March 11. Within the confines of her usual space Miss Thompson discovers: (1) that the United States has only 2,000,000 unemployed; (2) that the proportion of the population having jobs is within 1 per cent of that in the boom year of 1929; (3) that the working population has a larger part of the national income than it enjoyed in 1929; (4) that this income is actually greater, in terms of purchasing power, than the record $80,000,000,000 income of the boom year; and (5) that the problems of the share-croppers and the Okies are merely a reflection of our growing social awareness. Not content to be thus wholly scooped by his feminine rival, Arthur Krock devoted three of his columns in the succeeding week to demonstrating that the number of unemployed, if not actually as low as two million, could not be more than three or four million.

Miss Thompson arrives at her original and optimistic

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estimate of the number of unemployed by rather plausible juggling of statistics. By adding the 2,300,000 employees of the WPA, CCC, and other emergency agencies to the 46,300,000 persons privately employed in December, 1939, she finds that there were 1,800,000 more persons employed this past December than in December, 1929. Granting that there has been an increase of 3,800,000 in the number of persons who would normally be seeking work, owing to increased population, she concludes that the number of jobless is only about 2,000,000.

It is difficult in brief space to list all the points at which Miss Thompson (and Arthur Krock) has gone astray. First, it must be remembered that the depression had started in December, 1929, and that the number of unemployed in that month was conservatively estimated at 2,000,000. Second, her estimate of the number of young people who have come on the labor market in the last ten years over and above the number of persons who withdrew by reason of death or retirement is low by at least 2,000,000. The figure is usually estimated at 6,000,000. Third, it is impossible to justify the inclusion of 2,300,000 emergency workers averaging approximately $50 a month as "employed." To do so is to take a cynical view of our present labor standards such as even Miss Thompson can hardly subscribe to. Fourth, in taking December, 1939, Miss Thompson chose the most favorable month for her comparison: the A. F. of L. estimates show a rise in unemployment between December, 1939, and January, 1940, of 1,300,000. Fifth, no estimate is given for the number of additional persons who have been brought on the labor market as a result of the depression and the prolonged unemployment of the principal breadwinner. A booklet just published by the Committee on Social Security of the Social Science Research Council estimates that for every 1,000,000 thrown out of work there is an increase of from 1,100,000 to 1,250,000 in the number of persons seeking jobs. If we assume that 1,000,000 additional job-seekers have been created in this manner during the depression, we find that these five corrections have added a minimum of 8,600,000 to Miss Thompson's 2,000,000 job-seekers. This makes a total slightly greater than the rather conservative A. F. of L. estimate of 10,381,000.

Lack of space prevents a similar analysis of Miss Thompson's remaining great discoveries. But we cannot let pass her impudent dismissal of such catastrophic developments as the uprooting of tens of thousands of Dust Bowl families and the displacement of other tens of thousands by the reorganization of the cotton industry in the South as merely evidence that we are becoming "share-cropper and Okie conscious." The advent of power machinery in the cotton belt has created social and economic problems such as this country has rarely faced. Miss Thompson's best friends should keep her informed.

Notes on Puerto Rico, II

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

San Juan, March 3

THIS letter is not a "report"; it is a commentary on things heard and seen in two weeks in Puerto Rico. Anything more would be an impertinence. Only a visiting Congressional committee could base a report on such casual evidence. I begin with this warning because I noticed in a recent issue an over-optimistic announcement of "reports" to be made at intervals by this editor. Call them notes and I'll feel happier.

It is unnecessary to talk about the two chief scourges of Puerto Rico, but no visitor can avoid it. Poverty and political corruption meet you on your arrival and trail you until you leave. They are flagrant and pervasive. They all but obscure the beauty of a fine countryside and the good work of honest public officials. They dominate education—the university as well as the lower schools; they pervert justice; they make the democratic institutions of the country a sour joke. They collaborate in ruining an island created by nature for pleasure and abundance.

Corruption is as open as the sunshine. On the day we arrived my husband and I met a single small but revealing example of how things are supposed to work. The Assistant Commissioner of Education, Oscar Irizarry, a Puerto Rican who was educated in the United States and worked there before his appointment, met us at the dock and helped us through the elaborate formalities connected with landing a car that belonged to a college on the island and so could come in without paying the customary 10 per cent excise tax. We waited in an office of the Interior Department while the necessary documents were prepared. While we stood there Mr. Irizarry was approached by a Republican member of the Puerto Rico Senate who loudly demanded, in the presence of several employees and ourselves, that the Assistant Commissioner dismiss a number of employees in his department who happened to be members of the Liberal Party. It was well known, he said from the eminence of his own political detachment, that they were playing politics. With good humor and firmness Mr. Irizarry declined. He patted the Senator on the shoulder and said, "You know I can't dismiss these people for no reason except that they are Liberals. Show me proof of improper conduct and I shall act at once, but not on flimsy, general charges." The Senator was angry and insistent. He said that he would find a way to get at the Assistant Commissioner. "We can't oust you because you are appointed by the Commissioner and he is appointed by the President. But we can slash your appropriations and that is what we will do." The Republican-Socialist coalition, of course, controls the island legislature.

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The incident is insignificant compared with dozens of others which I heard about rather than witnessed. Political scandals involving millions of dollars that found their way into the pockets of Senators and Representatives and their friends have been uncovered, proved, discussed in the press, and then forgotten. If they have come into the courts they have been thrown out by judges who know where their political and financial fortunes lie. More often they have been suppressed by influence and money before legal action got under way.

Politics dominates appointments to the university, the appropriation of funds for buildings and salaries, the choice of lecturers. A university instructor said to me: "Teaching is freer under Trujillo than under our board of trustees. In Santo Domingo several eminent Spanish Republican scholars have been given posts in the university. We couldn't get those men in here." The rector of the university, with whom I talked at some length, is not a reactionary or a politician. But he yields to pressure and acts or refuses to act out of fear; his fate and that of the university are in the hands of the politicians and he knows it. A more defiant character might stand up to his overlords, but to fight would take courage and might well mean defeat.

The result is a curious one. Many liberals teach in the university, and much imaginative work is done there. Intellectual ferment is in the air. The students are excited about politics, particularly the exasperating question of Puerto Rico's political status. Many of them are radicals. On the other hand, academic standards are low and academic discipline slack. During my stay I visited the Polytechnic Institute at San German, a Presbyterian college headed by an able American director, Dr. Jarvis S. Morris. The contrast was startling. Hard work and discipline were evident; a friendly atmosphere pervaded the place and the students seemed interested and alert, but the stimulation of political turmoil was wholly absent, as remote as in a denominational school in the States. Perhaps this is healthy. At any rate it is a fact that students dropped from the Polytechnic for low marks can go into the university. The Polytechnic is a small school, but it may serve as a yardstick with which to measure the academic level of the university.

Politics affects the university in tangible as well as intellectual ways. The buildings recently put up with federal funds are imposing and beautiful. But a desire for display seems to have outweighed good sense and planning. The new college theater is larger, more elaborately equipped, more elegant in detail than most of those on Broadway. The building is air-conditioned. The dressing-rooms would satisfy the most exacting movie star. The acoustics are perfect. Certainly no university in the United States that I know of can boast such a theater.

But the University of Puerto Rico has no funds for scenery. It cannot afford to turn on the air-conditioning or even to operate the lighting system. It has no drama department or money to spend on one; in fact, there is not even a dramatic club in the university. The theater stands there, empty and unused, as fantastic a demonstration of conspicuous waste as I have ever seen. It cost, by the way, about three-quarters of a million dollars. Meanwhile university salaries are low. The English department is housed in a one-story wooden structure that looks like temporary army barracks. The science department is inadequate.

Perhaps these and other equally apparent defects may be remedied later on. The rector and many of the teachers and students earnestly hope that their institution will become the long-discussed Pan-American University. If that is to happen, the men who directly or indirectly control appointments and the expenditure of funds will have to show a new interest in education and a new disinterest in politics. Nothing I saw or heard inclines me to expect any such revolutionary change.

Next week I shall add a few notes on the social and political situation in the island, especially on the remarkable campaign of Luis Muñoz Marin.

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The Laura Law Murder

BY HERBERT LUNDY

Portland, Oregon, March 11

LAURA LUOMA LAW was born in Finland in 1914, in a world at war. She died in January, 1940, at Aberdeen, Washington, while Soviet bombs dropped on her native Helsinki. Her death and the events surrounding it are rapidly becoming a *cause célèbre* in the Northwest.

Wife of an aggressive union organizer and herself active in C. I. O. affairs, Laura Law was the victim of an unknown assailant who entered her home on the night of January 5 and beat and stabbed her to death. The murder occurred just a month after a mob had wrecked the so-called Red Finn Hall at Aberdeen without interference from police. Authorities of Grays Harbor County and the city of Aberdeen failed to convict any of the raiders of the hall. And so far they have made no arrest in the Laura Law murder case.

The Congressional delegation of the state of Washington has asked for a federal investigation of the situation in Aberdeen. The Grays Harbor Civil Rights Committee, formed by Communists and labor leaders after Laura Law was killed, and Howard Costigan, secretary of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, have demanded federal intervention under the civil-rights statutes. They have presented affidavits and documents purporting to prove that there has been a "breakdown of law and order in Grays Harbor County" and that "inaction by the United States Department of Justice will lead to a fulfilment of the general call to vigilante action against organized labor in the entire West Coast lumber region and thus re-create the general abrogation of civil rights which followed the failure to guarantee civil rights in Centralia in 1919."

The Grays Harbor Civil Rights Committee does not have majority support from Oregon and Washington C. I. O. unions, although several have voted funds to aid its cause. Yet the Law case threatens to endanger labor contract renewals in the lumber industry this spring and is certain to be a factor in the Washington elections. For the labor and political excesses of Aberdeen and its sister city, Hoquiam, which go back many years, have produced a fresh crop of hatred and bitterness. Pretty twenty-six-year-old Laura Law may have been bludgeoned and stabbed to death by a mad tramp, by someone well known to her, or by a crackpot "patriot." No evidence that she was killed by vigilantes has yet been adduced. But whatever the truth of the matter, every day that passes without a solution of the crime makes worse the festering labor relations on the Pacific Coast. The Law murder case is no ordinary "who-done-it?"

Grays Harbor County is a plywood, lumber, and fishing center of southwestern Washington. From the beginning lumber has been king. Timber barons have made and lost fortunes there in virgin Douglas fir. And for years union organizers have used it as a proving ground; strikes and violence have been its heritage.

Thousands of Greeks, Finns, Austrians, and Swedes flocked to the mills and camps around the turn of the century, welcomed by the timber men who ruled the region's economic and social life. In 1912 the Industrial Workers of the World were strong enough to strike the Aberdeen and Hoquiam mills, where most of the workers were Greeks. The police smashed their picket lines, arrested scores, refused them trials by jury, fined them, and released them when the jails were filled. The mills reopened with "American" crews. Rioting spread, and the authorities called for militiamen. In Raymond, a neighboring town, a vigilante body of two hundred armed citizens tossed fifty Finns into an outbound steamer and loaded a hundred Greeks into box cars. Newspapers chuckled over the "bloodless victory."

In the years before the World War, I. W. W. agitators filtered into every logging camp and mill in the Northwest, fomenting job actions, slow-bell, and sabotage. But in 1917 patriotism and the army broke the back of the organization in the fir forests. Soldiers were marched into the woods to fill the government's demand for airplane stock. The army organized the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, the largest company union ever seen in the West, and the I. W. W. could not stand against it. The final blow was struck in Centralia in the bloody fight between legionnaires and wobblies. Through a change of venue the trial of the Centralia slayers was held in Montesano, county seat of Grays Harbor. Militiamen patrolled the streets.

With the coming of the NRA and later the NLRB, the American Federation of Labor moved into the Northwestern forests. Bill Hutcheson's Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners organized the sawmill and timber workers' union, which reached the peak of its power in Grays Harbor in the pre-C. I. O. years of 1934, 1935, and 1936. Strikes were called in lumber operations throughout the Northwest in 1935, and in the tenth week of the shut-down Governor Clarence D. Martin of Washington sent the National Guard into Aberdeen,

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Hoquiam, Everett, and Tacoma. The mayors of Aberdeen and Hoquiam and the Grays Harbor County sheriff had requested troops, and six mills opened behind the guardsmen's bayonets. Strike-breakers were stoned. Five hundred strikers met cold steel with rocks when soldiers broke through a cordon to rescue ten besieged comrades. A dynamite blast wrecked a store patronized by strike-breakers and soldiers. After bitter months of violence the union won wage and hour concessions from a staggering industry.

"Communist," "fascist," "red," and "red-baiter" became epithets frequently and loosely applied in Aberdeen. Three hundred pickets prevented William Dudley Pelley, Silver Shirt chief, from holding a rally. The Hoquiam residence of State Senator Frank L. Morgan, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, was bombed. Labor leaders and suspected Communists received threatening notes and telephone calls. The Communist movement gained converts in the unions and in the Finnish Workers' Federation. In 1937 Harold Pritchett of Vancouver, British Columbia, who rose to power with the aid of the Communists, carried more than 50,000 woodworkers into the C. I. O., and employers were caught in the nutcracker of a jurisdictional war without quarter. Strikes and boycotts were used for organizing purposes, and the "boss" was left holding the bag.

Pritchett has been fought doggedly in his own union, the International Woodworkers of America, by opponents who charge that he follows too closely the Communist Party line. For more than three years he has beaten all efforts to unseat him. His energetic aides in this fight, and in that against the employers, have been two Grays Harbor men, O. M. Orton, first vice-president of the I. W. A., and Dick Law, member of the executive board and organizer.

Law ran Pritchett's floor show at the Klamath Falls convention last year when the Canadian was accused of communism by delegates from the Columbia River district. He led a band of C. I. O. men into Aberdeen's leading hotel and ran two A. F. of L. organizers out of town. With other C. I. O. men he served warning on Abe Muir of San Francisco, vice-president of the Carpenters and Joiners, who had originally organized Northwestern lumber workers in the A. F. of L., and Muir left Aberdeen with a police escort. At every I. W. A. negotiation with employers in southwestern Washington Dick Law was in the forefront of the workers, and he was on hand to call nearly every strike. He made many enemies.

While Law was organizing lumberjacks, mill hands, and plywood and veneer workers, his Finnish-born wife, Laura, was organizing auxiliaries. She stirred many a convention by her lively speeches. With her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Nestor Luoma, she participated in the social and political life of the Finnish Workers' Federation, which has about two hundred members in Grays Harbor—many of them Communists, some of them members of C. I. O. unions.

There are two Finn halls in Aberdeen. One is the meeting place of the Kaleva Brotherhood, a fifty-year-old fraternal society of Western Finns with its grand lodge in Astoria, Oregon. It was built about 1900 and painted blue. The other is the hall of the Finnish Workers' Federation, which in recent years has been a political affiliate of the Washington Commonwealth Federation. This hall was built in 1906 and painted red, because red paint was cheap. It has always been called the Red Finn Hall to distinguish it from the Blue Finn Hall, and only recently has the name been identified with communism.

Finnish Communists in Grays Harbor were in a difficult position when the Soviet Union invaded Finland. But oddly enough, it was not the white Finns who vilified them most; it was their old 100-per-cent-American opponents on the other side of the labor fence. The raid on the Red Finn Hall on the night of December 2, three days after the Soviet troops crossed the Finnish border, would perhaps have passed as a spontaneous outburst of hatred for communism had local authorities dealt efficiently with the offenders. But the police did not stop the raid, and the only two suspects arrested were found not guilty by a jury that deliberated twenty minutes.

A regular weekly dance at the Red Finn Hall had been planned for the night of December 2 by the women of the federation, but it was canceled when white Finns and others called a mass-meeting in the Blue Finn Hall for the same evening to raise funds for Finnish relief. The Aberdeen *World* for that day reported: "A. F. of L. union members and World War veterans this afternoon were said to be planning to picket the Grays Harbor Communist 'Victory' dance tonight at the Workers' Hall . . . in protest against 'communism and the ruthless aggression of Soviet Russia on Finland.' . . . Those planning to picket the Workers' Hall will gather in front of the Oregon-Washington district A. F. of L. sawmill-union hall at 7:45, it was said. A leader will be chosen and the march will begin with the American flag at the head."

There was no march of "pickets" because there was no dance, but a crowd of men and high-school boys gathered in front of the hall about eight o'clock. Muttered threats grew louder. A rock smashed through a window. The mob rushed the darkened three-story structure, battered down the doors, and streamed inside. Anton Alho, the janitor, alone in the hall, fled through a rear door. He said afterward that he stumbled into the arms of a police officer who appeared reluctant to let him go without a thorough search. As soon as he was released he ran to the police station and reported the raid.

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Aberdeen patrol cars are equipped with two-way radio communication and the hall is only a few blocks from the station, but by the time the police arrived, the raiders had gone and only a crowd of onlookers stood about. The mob had left the interior of the hall a mass of wreckage. Large framed pictures of President Roosevelt, Joseph Stalin, and Earl Browder had been burned or carried away. The usually reliable Associated Press sent the following report from Aberdeen: "A mob of 400 to 500 persons Saturday night rushed a group of some thirty dancing Communists at a 'Workers' Hall' here, wrecked the interior of the structure, ripped floors and walls, and burned pictures of Joseph Stalin and Earl Browder in the street." A few hours after the raid missiles were thrown through windows of the A. F. of L. sawmill-union headquarters and the residence of Harry Tucker, the anti-Pritchett conservative president of the I. W. A. local.

Though flashlight pictures were taken during the attack and many onlookers were still there when the police finally arrived, none of the raiders were identified. Dick Law and his faction in the C. I. O. stridently demanded police action and started gathering evidence. Law declared later that Mrs. Law helped him and received threats against her life.

Mrs. Luoma came home from a theater the night of January 5 and found the body of her daughter, Laura Law, sprawled on a davenport. Her skull had been fractured in five places by powerful blows of a blunt instrument. Two post-mortem examinations showed that the slayer, after smashing her head, had thrust a stiletto-like weapon, probably an ice-pick, seven times into her left breast around the heart. The house had been ransacked. Papers had been strewn about, drawers emptied on to beds, and boxes opened. But the search had not been thorough, and nothing has been proved to be missing.

Dick Law charges that since his wife's murder the police have been interested only in "making [him] the principal suspect." Yet from a detective's point of view some questioning of Law has been justified, especially in view of the fact that he once served a term in Oregon State Prison for robbery. Fellow union members have accounted for his time on the night his wife was slain, but have refused to make further statements. Special Prosecutor Paul O. Manley, who is ambitious to go to Congress, held a coroner's inquest that resembled a trial. Testimony bearing on alleged extra-marital relations of Law's promptly resulted in a slander suit. Long discussions of "class warfare" and vague references to threats against union men brought a solution of the killing of Laura Law no nearer. The inquest was recessed after four days. It has not been reconvened.

Why Finland Lost

BY ROBERT DELL

THE sudden end of the Russian-Finnish war reveals more sharply than ever the extent to which the Soviet Union has been guilty of aggression. The U. S. S. R. stands convicted under the terms of the Convention for the Definition of Aggression which it concluded in London on July 3, 1933, with various other powers immediately adjacent to it, and even more strikingly under its treaty of non-aggression with Finland, signed on January 21, 1932. This treaty provided, among other things, that the contracting parties must submit any disputes between them to a procedure of conciliation before a joint Conciliation Committee, which was set up on April 22, 1932, "and particularly the question whether the mutual undertaking of non-aggression has or has not been violated." On November 28, 1939, the Soviet government denounced this treaty, which it had no right to denounce before December 31, 1945, on the ground that it had been "systematically violated by the Finnish government" and refused to submit the question to conciliation or arbitration. Incidentally the Russian aggression invalidates all the bilateral pacts concluded by the U. S. S. R. with other countries, except that with Germany, for they all contain the famous "escape" clause.

To pick a quarrel with Finland the Soviet government imitated the tactics of the Japanese in the Manchurian affair. It first faked an "incident" and then set up a puppet government. In his telegram of December 5, 1939, to the Secretary General of the League of Nations, in which he refused on behalf of his government to be represented at the sessions of the Council and Assembly of the League convened to deal with the Finnish appeal, Molotov said:

> The U. S. S. R. is not at war with Finland and does not threaten the Finnish nation with war. Consequently, reference to Article 2, paragraph 1 is unjustified. The Soviet Union maintains peaceful relations with the Democratic Republic of Finland, whose government signed with the U. S. S. R. on December 2 a Pact of Assistance and Friendship. This pact settled the questions which the Soviet government had fruitlessly discussed with delegates of the former Finnish government

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> now divested of its power. By its declaration of December 1 the government of the Democratic Repubic of Finland requested the Soviet government to lend assistance to that republic by armed forces with a view to the joint liquidation at the earliest possible moment of the very dangerous seat of war created in Finland by its former rulers.

The bad faith of this statement is equaled by its impudence. Stalin has now put on the scrap heap both the "Democratic Republic of Finland" and the pact that the Soviet government signed with it on December 2.

In its memorandum of October 14 the Soviet government alleged that its aims were to secure the safety of Leningrad and become satisfied that "Finland will have firm, friendly relations with the Soviet Union." The peace terms that Stalin has now imposed on the unhappy Finnish nation show that this was as false as all the other declarations of the Soviet government throughout the affair. The terms of peace deprive Finland of its independence and make it a vassal state of Russia. They go far beyond what the Soviet government demanded in October. In the memorandum of October 14 the Soviet government demanded that Finland should cede to the Soviet Union, in exchange for other areas, the following territories: the islands of Suursaari, Lavansaari, Tytarsaari, and Koivisto, part of the Isthmus of Karelia from the village of Lippola to the southern border of the town of Koivisto, and the western parts of the Kalastajasaarento. By the peace treaty Russia annexes the whole of the Karelian Isthmus, with the city of Viipuri, the whole of Viipuri Bay with its islands, the territory west and north of Lake Ladoga, including the cities of Kaekisalmi and Sortavala, the territory east of Maerkaejaervi and Kuolajaervi, and a number of islands in the Gulf of Finland. Finland gets nothing in exchange.

In the memorandum of October 14 the Soviet government made no demand at all concerning the Pestamo area. Article 5 of the peace treaty, as broadcast from Moscow on March 13, imposes severe maritime restrictions at Petsamo. Article 6 of the treaty gives Soviet Russia and its citizens the right of free transit through the Petsamo region into Norway and back and provides that goods from Soviet Russia to Norway or from Norway to Russia are to be sent through Petsamo free from control and transit duties.

The worst articles in the peace treaty are the third and seventh. By Article 3 both countries undertake not to "conclude any alliance or participate in coalitions" directed against the other signatory. Article 7 reads:

> Finland agrees to grant access across the territory between Russia and Sweden, via the shortest route, for a new railway to be built jointly by both countries, possibly in 1940, between Kandalaksha and Kemijaervi.

Some people have suggested that Article 7 indicates an intention on Stalin's part to attack Sweden, but in my opinion this is a mistake. A Soviet attack on Sweden would bring Russia into conflict with Germany, and there can be little doubt that in the agreement made between Germany and Russia last August Scandinavia was recognized as a German sphere of influence. The aim of this article is to give Russia control of Finland.

Article 3 makes Finland defenseless and puts it at the mercy of Russia. Stalin will be able, if he pleases, to declare that any defensive alliance or pact of mutual assistance concluded by Finland with other countries is directed against Russia and make it an excuse for another attack on Finland, just as Hitler made the Franco-Soviet pact an excuse for sending his troops into the demilitarized zone. Provisions similar to that of Article 3 are contained in the Russian agreements with the Baltic states, but, with those exceptions, they are probably unprecedented in any treaty. They are quite incompatible, as indeed is the treaty as a whole, with Molotov's declarations in his speech broadcast on November 29, 1939, that the Soviet government had no intention of taking and annexing Finnish territory, or of infringing the independence of Finland, or of interfering in its domestic and foreign affairs. "We regard Finland," he said, "whatever may be the regime in existence there, as an independent state. . . . We are anxious that the Finnish people should itself decide its internal and external affairs as it thinks best."

The subjection of Finland to Russian domination is a great victory for Hitler and a severe blow to the Allies, and one for which the British government has a heavy responsibility. Not, however, the French government. It is now known that the French government and the French General Staff wished to send military aid to Finland in December, but the British government refused to agree until February 5. The reason of the refusal was undoubtedly a desire to avoid at all costs being involved in a war with Russia. The attitude of the British government toward Russia has become more friendly since Stalin sacrificed communism to power politics, for the excellent reason that there is no longer a "Communist danger" in Europe; Stalin has ruined communism in every European country outside Russia. Winston Churchill apologized in a broadcast speech on October 1, 1939, for Russia's participation in the partition of Poland, and Neville Chamberlain told the House of Commons that Russia had gone into Poland in self-defense. He was mistaken, but it is significant that he made the statement.

In his statement to the House of Commons on March 13 Chamberlain did not utter a word of condemnation of Russia. The British government has undoubtedly been cherishing the hope that it could detach Russia from Germany, which in my opinion is an illusion. Stalin cannot quarrel with Hitler while the present war lasts. The British government did not wish the Finns to fight and hoped they would come to terms with Stalin.

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Anybody reading between the lines of Daladier's speech in the French Chamber on March 12 will conclude that he bitterly resented the opposition of the British government to military intervention in Finland. It was equally clear that he resented the attitude of the Swedish and Norwegian governments, which have the greatest responsibility for the Russian victory over Finland. They may live to regret it. According to information that I have received from a Swedish friend who has recently been in Sweden, the majority of the Swedish people, in particular the parties of the left, wished to give military aid to Finland and to allow Allied troops to cross Swedish territory for that purpose. They believed that Germany would probably attack Sweden in any case before the present war ends. On the other side were the conservative upper classes, who have always been pro-German—big business and finance, the same sort of people as the supporters of the "policy of appeasement" in England and France. The Swedish capitalists wanted to go on selling iron ore and munitions to Germany. The leading munitions maker in Sweden went to Berlin to ask for Hitler's aid in making peace between Russia and Finland.

It is difficult to understand why the Allied governments insisted that the Finns should publicly ask for military aid. The resolution unanimously adopted by the League Assembly at Geneva on December 14 enabled them to demand a passage for their troops through Sweden and Norway under Article 16 of the League Covenant. The Finns dared not ask for it because they were intimidated by the Swedish and German governments. Besides, the offer of military aid came very late. If the Allied governments had offered it, as the French government desired, at an earlier date, Swedish resistance to the move might have been overcome and Finland might have been saved. As it is, Scandinavia passes under German control and Finland under the control of the Soviet Union.

A "Wagner Act" for Employers

BY ARTHUR A. MICHAEL

Washington, March 12

IF THE present assault on the National Labor Relations Act succeeds, as seems more than likely, labor will not be long in coming to the realization that it has lost more than the act gave it. What purports to be a movement for the suppression of imperfections in the law actually cloaks a powerful drive for the suppression of rights which labor had painfully won many years before the act was passed. The Wagner Act may yet be subjected to so effective and ironical a transformation that, as in the case of the Sherman Act, those who were thought to be its beneficiaries will come to regret that it ever saw the light of legislative day.

No longer do the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Industrial Council, and their associates call for the repeal of the act; that campaign has been dropped. Lammot du Pont, Tom Girdler, Ernest T. Weir, and the other powerful magnates who govern modern industry's labor relations through the revitalized N. A. M. have concluded not only that the "repeal" campaign was crude salesmanship but that its objectives were too narrow. Repeal would merely withdraw from labor such benefits as the act bestowed, whereas judicious amendment of the act not only can nullify these benefits but forge in addition powerful restraints with which to bind labor. In Wisconsin and Pennsylvania this strategy was tested last year on "little Wagner acts," and the results were highly gratifying. Accordingly, the password in Washington now is, "By all means keep the act—but *perfect* it."

When Representative Howard W. Smith tossed into the House hopper H. R. 8813, embodying the recommendations of a majority of his committee for amendments to the act, the first step was taken to effectuate this twofold program for clipping the wings and removing the claws of an advancing labor movement. It must be understood that the Smith proposals, sweeping as they are, were designed to achieve merely the objectives of the *first stage* of the amendment program, the sterilization of the Wagner Act.

FIRST STAGE: STERILIZE THE ACT

Since it is contended that the Smith amendments are necessitated by the present board's "shockingly inadequate" procedure, it may be well first to recall that in the Jones and Laughlin decision the Supreme Court, even before it was "reconstituted a New Deal Court," carefully reviewed the act's procedural requirements and found nothing lacking. Chief Justice Hughes stated:

> The act establishes standards to which the board must conform. There must be complaint, notice, and hearing. The board must receive evidence and make findings. The findings as to the facts are to be conclusive, but only if supported by evidence. The order of the board is subject to review by the designated court, and only when sustained by the court may the order be enforced.

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> Upon that review all questions of the jurisdiction of the board and the regularity of its proceedings, all questions of constitutional right or statutory authority, are open to examination by the court. We construe the procedural provisions as affording adequate opportunity to secure judicial protection against arbitrary action. . . .

Despite the fact that they are generally referred to as procedural, many of the proposed amendments are not procedural at all, but pierce to the very core of the act. Changing the definition of "employee" so as to bar from the protection of the act any worker who is shown to have engaged in "violence" is a substantive, not a procedural, change, the effect of which would be to reward employers who succeed in provoking union-minded employees into fist fights or scuffles. Similarly, the redefining of "agricultural labor" so as to eliminate from the act's coverage thousands of workers engaged in processing agricultural products could be considered "procedural" only by Mr. Smith and the Associated Farmers.

Other proposals of the Smith committee are even more fundamental. The stipulation that employers need not submit counter-proposals in the process of collective bargaining tears out the very heart of the bargaining provisions and reduces the expression "bargaining in good faith" to a hollow phrase, a fact which even the courts have recognized and affirmed. Permission to employers to express to employees "opinions" respecting union matters, "provided that such expressions of opinion are not accompanied by acts of coercion, intimidation, discrimination, or threats thereof," opens wide the door to the very employer interference with the self-organization of employees which the act was designed to eliminate. The board's decided cases are replete with instances of employer expressions of "opinion" which were unaccompanied by *acts* of coercion or threats thereof but were themselves highly coercive and intimidating in the circumstances under which they were uttered. Constitutional guaranties of free speech do not have to be written into statutes; they are protected by organic law. Under the act as it now stands, should the board attempt to prohibit employer expressions of opinion without substantial evidence in the record that the expressions were coercive, the courts would gladly refuse to enforce the board's order, which would be ineffectual.

Among the other proposals of the Smith bill, some of which are actually procedural, there is not one which would not endanger, to a greater or lesser degree, the effective operation of the act. Splitting the present board into a divided agency composed of an administrator and a "labor court," subject to no unified control, would at the least invite a return of the very confusion and impotence which characterized the administration of Section 7-a of the NIRA. The House Labor Committee in 1935 urged creation of the present board precisely "to dispel the confusion resulting from dispersion of authority and to establish a single paramount administrative or quasi-judicial authority in connection with the development of the federal American law regarding collective bargaining." Making it mandatory for the board to hold an election whenever an employer files a petition alleging that two unions claim to represent his employees would place it in the power of employers to force a vote at a time when a union had just commenced organizing and was sure to suffer a defeat.

The so-called Garrison proposal, which would deprive the board of jurisdiction in cases where conflicting unions were unable to agree on the appropriate unit, would free the board of troublesome A. F. of L. and C. I. O. controversies, but on the whole it would seem calculated to promote industrial strife rather than lessen it. Since it would free employers from bargaining with any union when there is a dispute, A. F. of L. or C. I. O. unions would doubtless seek to intervene and thus thwart collective bargaining whenever their rivals were about to achieve organization of a plant. The provision to limit the appropriate bargaining unit in all cases to the largest requested by the employees might well serve to destroy the industry-wide or association-wide collective agreement which has brought relative industrial peace to such great segments of labor as the men and women's garment industry and the Appalachian coal industry.

Most crippling of all would be the effect of the proposed rules for the admission and weighing of evidence in board proceedings, and for the judicial review of board orders. The former would gravely hamper the board in the ascertainment of the truth by sacrificing substance to legalistic form; the latter, through the provision that courts may set aside board orders that are "clearly erroneous," would constitute a plain invitation to federal courts to substitute their judgments for those of the board; they do this now without invitation, despite the admonitions of the Supreme Court.

There are lesser but nevertheless substantial changes which cannot be considered here for lack of space; but two other aspects of the Smith bill deserve mention because they have been generally overlooked: the proposed new subpoena rules, which would enable employers to intimidate workers and union officials by scattering about sweepingly worded subpoenas; and the strange way in which Section 13 of the present act has quite disappeared from sight. Section 13 reads, "Nothing in this act shall be construed so as to interfere with or impede or diminish in any way the right to strike." No two lines in the present law could be omitted with more devastating effect. However, since the Smith report did not even mention this vital omission, perhaps it ought charitably to be attributed to careless draftsmanship, which the committee will eventually rectify.

Representative Smith himself has taken pains to point out that his bill by no means represents the final step

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in the amending program. H. R. 8813, he announces, is "designed to meet only the most pressing needs disclosed by the inquiry, which is to be continued." The amendments which are still to come are intended to achieve the objectives of the second stage—the transformation of the act into an effective instrument for *shackling* organized labor. The outlines of this assault upon the act are already adumbrated in a host of proposed amendments which are being vigorously pushed to the fore.

SECOND STAGE: BALANCE THE ACT

The most frequently urged and most significant of these second-stage amendments are those which seek to "equalize" or "balance" the act. These proposals are invariably prefaced by a disarming and moving plea for equality and fair play. The act is at present palpably unfair, it is asserted, because it is "one-sided"; it limits the privileges and increases the obligations of employers, while it imposes neither restraints nor obligations upon employees and trade unions. This is a telling argument, for inbred in every American is the conviction that fair play requires identity of rules for both sides in any contest—what's fair for Harvard is fair for Yale. But in drawing an analogy between social legislation and football one may overlook the fact that the objective of social legislation is precisely the correction of existing unfairness, the restoration of social balance where unbalance exists. It is not usually argued that the workmen's-compensation law is "unfair" because it confers benefits on the workers but obligations on the employers, that the Securities and Exchange Act is unfair because it confers benefits on investors but obligations on securities vendors, that the Interstate Commerce Commission Act is unfair because it regulates the railroads without regulating the public. Yet the National Labor Relations Act is charged with gross unfairness because it prohibits an employer from interfering with organization on the part of his employees while it does not impose restrictions or obligations on employees or unions.

What is overlooked is the fact that the Wagner Act is not a code designed to govern the entire field of employer-employee relations. It has only one function—to protect employees in their right to organize and bargain collectively.

Though it prohibits interference with employee organization, the National Labor Relations Act leaves untouched the employers' complete dominion over his employees. In the process of collective bargaining the employer is not obliged by the act to concede or refuse a thing, or to reach any agreement whatever. If a deadlock occurs, the act leaves untouched the ensuing test of economic strength. All that is affirmatively required is that there be bona fide collective bargaining and no attempt by employers to interfere with the employees' right to organize; so that employees, may, if they wish, seek to achieve by bargaining as a group what Holmes once described as "the equality of position between the parties in which liberty of contract begins."

What is most noteworthy about these second-stage proposals, which claim to be schemes newly evolved to offset the "one-sidedness" of the act, is that they cloak anti-labor proposals conceived long ago and unsuccessfully urged for years by groups fully recognized as partisan. Most of them are storehouses of dynamite screened by a gentle and "what-could-be-fairer" façade. Consider the most frequently urged of the "balancing" amendments, the proposal that employees shall have the right to organize without interference or coercion *"from any source."* Vigorous attempts to protect employees against coercion from *"any source,"* as well as from the employer, were made by anti-labor forces, including the National Association of Manufacturers, back in 1932, 1933, and 1934, before the Wagner Act was ever proposed, and again in 1935 when the act was pending before Congress. The suggestion was flatly rejected by both houses, the Senate committee stating:

> This erroneously conceived mutuality agreement is that since employers are to be prohibited from interfering with the organization of workers, employees and labor organizations should also be prohibited from engaging in such activities. To say that employees and labor organizations should be no more active than employers in the organization of employees is untenable; this would defeat the very object of the bill.

The House committee added forcefully:

> What is really sought is a legal strait-jacket upon labor organizations, on the specious theory that such organizations have no more legitimate concern in the organization of employees than have employers themselves.

Despite this definitive Congressional repudiation before the act was passed, the proposal is now being vigorously pushed under the pretense of "balancing" the act, and may receive far different treatment in a House which authorized the Smith investigation by an overwhelming vote. Smith himself, protesting coyly that he must not be thought to have "prejudged" the issues, recently stated that Congress must "so amend the law . . . that the laboring man himself, whom it is the object of the act to protect, can be free to act without fear of coercion . . . *from any source.*"

No one has yet defined with precision the scope of the "coercion" from which employees would be protected by such amendments. If actual or threatened violence is contemplated, then hundreds of jail sentences meted out each year testify that existing penal statutes amply punish employees and union representatives for actual or imagined "coercion" of a physical character. Employers, on the other hand, for their "coercion" under the act face merely a "cease and desist" order from the board,

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which must be obeyed only after approved by a federal court. The term "coercion," moreover, as used in the law, is possessed of elastic qualities which for hundreds of years have made it a highly effective tool for crippling legitimate labor activities. To some judges in labor disputes a single picket, even absolute silence, may constitute "coercion." Hearken to New Jersey's notorious chancery judge, Maja Leon Berry, issuing an injunction against a union:

> A single sentinel constantly parading in front of a place of employment may be just as effective in striking terror to the souls of employees bound there by their duty as was the swinging pendulum in Poe's famous story "The Pit and the Pendulum" to the victim chained in its ultimate path. In fact, silence is sometimes more striking than the loud mouthings of the mob.

Just as the "coercion from any source" type of amendment would "balance" the act by crippling the organizational activities of unions, other proposals advanced to "balance" the act would impose, under one euphemistic slogan or another, serious restraints on the right of labor to strike. One such proposal has recently come into great favor because of the way it is working out in Wisconsin, where it was adopted last year as an amendment to Wisconsin's state "Wagner Act." This amendment makes it an unfair labor practice for employees to participate in a strike unless a majority of the employees in a collective-bargaining unit have voted by secret ballot to call a strike. The seeming reasonableness of the proposal, which will win it the commendation of many fair-minded people, conceals nothing less than the virtual outlawing of the organizational strike. A union which has 490 members out of 1,000 employees in a plant cannot strike despite the refusal of the employer to bargain with it or to adjust legitimate grievances, even if every member of the union favors such a strike. And if the union is successful in inducing a majority of all the employees in a unit to support a strike, its every move and plan will become an open book to the employer as the result of the procedure prescribed.

In addition to the various proposals designed to prohibit or restrict strikes, numerous suggestions have been advanced, always on the same pretext of "balancing" the act, to regulate the time when, and the procedure by which, strikes may be called. Such proposals run a wide gamut, but many of them incorporate "cooling" and mediation features. Amendments of this type obviously have for their purpose to impede successful organizational strikes by the imposition of procedural hardships and delay. The difficulty of maintaining employee morale at an effective pitch over an extended period of time and the inability to utilize strategic timing in the calling of strikes have long been recognized by employers and labor leaders as fatal to success. The abuse of preliminary injunctions by intransigent employers seeking to strangle strikes through delay was one of the principal factors necessitating enactment of anti-injunction laws in labor disputes.

Representative Smith is known to favor a proposal for compulsory mediation and a "cooling" period as conditions precedent to the right to strike, provisions "similar to those of the Railway Labor Act." The menace inherent in this proposal is scarcely veiled by the reference to the Railway Act. In the railway industry, as Senator Wagner has pointed out,, organizational strikes are practically unknown, union organization and authentic collective bargaining have been firmly established for so many years that the situation is not at all comparable to that in industries in which employees must strike to procure recognition of such rights. Moreover, it is noteworthy that these various proposals to apply the "cooling" feature of the Railway Labor Act to labor in general have not been accompanied by offers to invoke the drastic criminal penalties and other severe restrictions which that act imposes upon employers.

Euphemistically labeled as "guaranties of union responsibility," another group of proposals seek to impose regulations on the internal operations of trade unions. These would require publication of union finances, constitutions, and lists of members and officers, regulate eligibility to union office, and forbid political contributions by unions. The weighty objections to all these bright ideas, which have been often and clearly established when they were urged frankly as anti-union measures, lose none of their force when such proposals are advanced as amendments to "balance" the act. Although thousands of "cease and desist" orders demonstrate that some employers are sufficiently irresponsible to violate the law of the land, and though there is conclusive proof that associations of employers have instigated open defiance of it, no one has ventured to suggest an amendment to regulate the machinery utilized by employers' associations or corporations in their labor relations.

The often-repeated argument that unions should in fairness be prohibited from making political contributions because corporations are prohibited from making them is ironic in the light of the La Follette committee report demonstrating how effectively corporate employers have circumvented this restriction through contributions to the war chests of their powerful employers' associations. And more important, the attempted analogy between corporations, which are chartered by the state for commercial purposes, and unions, which are voluntary, non-profit associations formed specifically to promote the welfare of their members, is entirely misleading. Farmers' organizations and other voluntary associations are not forbidden to make political contributions. If any sound reasons exist why labor unions should be thus singled out, they have not yet been advanced.

Limitations of space prevent analysis of other subtle

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and disingenuous suggestions now being urged in the name of "balancing" the act, suggestions which, like those already discussed, would achieve results sought by anti-labor groups for decades. Prominent among these are proposals to prohibit or restrict all-union shop contracts, to impose on the Labor Board the duty of enforcing collective-bargaining contracts, and to establish a varied list of unfair labor practices for employees and labor unions, violation of which the board would be empowered to punish in some instances by a "death sentence" prohibiting a union from collecting any further dues or assessments. Even this last proposal is advanced in the name of "fair play," although a fair balance would conceivably involve a grant of power to the board to order a corporation guilty of an unfair labor practice to surrender its charter or cease business; at present it merely issues to the employer an order, ineffectual without court approval, to "cease and desist" from the prohibited activity.

Underlying the contentions for the necessity of amendments affecting the procedure and powers of the board is the unceasing cry that the board is biased. Employer assertions that the board suffers from an "overweening" partiality for labor are scarcely surprising, but the statement that an employer "knows before he goes before the board that there is no record of a single decision where he has had a ghost of a show" is reduced to absurdity by the figures. Of a total of 21,789 cases closed by the board since it began to function, 10,907 cases were closed by agreement of the parties, 3,262 cases were *dismissed* by the board, and 5,844 were withdrawn to *avoid dismissal*.

Strategy may impel the forces behind the drive for amendment to accept modest gains at the present session of Congress. But once the act has been opened up, there will be no stopping short of a complete transformation of the act and its purposes. For the working people of the country that can spell only disaster.

Canada's Strategic Election

BY T. E. WOOD

Toronto, March 13

ON JANUARY 25 last the Canadian Parliament convened for its first session since the outbreak of the war. The session opened with proper decorum. The Governor General read the speech from the throne. "My advisers," he concluded, "having regard to the existing conditions and the stage of life of the present Parliament, have decided upon an immediate appeal to the country."

But not until Premier Mackenzie King himself informed the House that the session was to be prorogued that very afternoon and that the election would be held some time in March did the incredulous members comprehend what was afoot. In vain the opposition leaders rose to protest. R. J. Manion, leader of the Conservatives, and J. S. Woodsworth, leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation fraction—generally polar opposites in their politics—were at one in condemning the government: The government was running away from parliament; its action was a negation of the fundamental principles of democracy; dissolution was "a piece of unscrupulous trickery designed to win a decision for the government on a snap verdict." But it was all in vain. That evening the lights were turned out in the House of Commons, and there was nought for the malcontents to do but return to their constituencies, nursing their wrath to keep it warm. The election was set for March 26.

If Premier King and his ministers suffered any qualms over their actions, they did not show it. They insisted, on the contrary, that their decision to dissolve Parliament had been prompted by the best of democratic intentions. Just one week prior to the short-lived session Premier Hepburn of Ontario had jammed a motion through the provincial legislature censuring the federal administration for ineptness in the conduct of the war. In the face of such a motion, jointly indorsed by the Liberal and Conservative parties of Canada's largest province, an immediate general election was obligatory for any honest government. This, at least, was the Liberal explanation.

The opponents of the Liberals charge that Hepburn's motion of censure is at the best a paltry excuse. There are a number of excellent reasons why the Liberals should have avoided a parliamentary session before appealing to the country, and these reasons must have occurred to the astute politicians of the Cabinet as well as to the leaders of the opposition. First of all there was the ubiquitous bogy of political patronage in the War Department. It was known that the opposition was preparing some highly embarrassing questions on the subject. The contract for the manufacture of Bren machine-guns which the government let three years ago was still on the books for discussion. So flagrantly unethical was the Bren contract that the staunchly liberal Winnipeg *Free Press* felt constrained to demand a review of every contract which had been signed by the incumbent Ministry. Members of the government hotly defended

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the contract, but they were clearly made uncomfortable. The two principals in charge of the Defense Department were shifted elsewhere as soon as the war broke out—an admission of maladministration. The fact that both were appointed to other positions is merely additional evidence of Premier King's often irrational loyalty to his colleagues.

The Bren gun contract has since been supplemented by other charges of political patronage. The *Financial Post* of Toronto, acting entirely on its own and without access to the most essential government files, has succeeded in unearthing a number of deals which—to put it mildly—smack of impropriety. Perhaps the most glaring example is the case of a Belleville firm which with a capital of $10,300 succeeded in obtaining defense contracts to the amount of $1,200,000. The firm, it might be added, is controlled by a Liberal M. P. So aroused was the government over the *Post's* disclosures that Acting Minister of Defense Rogers decided to deprive it of all access to departmental information.

Then, again, had the Liberal Party continued with the session, it would have been compelled to reduce its budget, the swollen figures of which would have been sufficient to make even the staunchest patriot swallow hard. According to Finance Minister Ralston, at least $500,000,000 will be required to finance the war for the coming fiscal year (beginning March 31), the equivalent of the entire annual peace-time expenditure. (In contrast with this figure the cost of the last war was only $60,800,000 in the first year, and even in 1918 it stood at the relatively modest figure of $343,800,000. If the war continues for two or three years, Canada, in company with every other belligerent, faces the certain prospect of utter financial collapse.) Taxation of the consumer has already reached an inordinately high level. A $1,000,000,000 budget—with all that it involves in increased taxation—could scarcely be considered a politically advantageous accomplishment.

The Liberal ministers, moreover, were unquestionably concerned about French Canada. Quebec is the traditional stronghold of the Liberal Party; the federal Liberals today occupy no fewer than sixty of the sixty-five provincial seats. But Quebec is coincidentally a hotbed of isolationist and anti-imperialist sentiment. The defeat of Duplessis in the provincial election of last October has been widely misconstrued as a demonstration of pro-war sentiment. In reality, the French Canadians voted for the Liberals because they believed that this was the most effective way of protecting themselves against conscription.

Premier King has given his word that his government will not introduce conscription. But as the influential Toronto weekly *Saturday Night* dryly points out, neither King nor Manion would hesitate to introduce compulsory service if the military situation became sufficiently urgent. French Canada will be antagonized by the war budget and increased taxation. Its affection for the Liberal Party will scarcely be enhanced by the outbreak of large-scale hostilities. And conscription would be the final straw. It was this that Premier King had in mind when he said in his initial radio speech: "I believed that it [the election] ought, if possible, to be over before the spring offensive."

Such were the motives which impelled the Liberals to avoid a parliamentary session before they presented themselves for reelection. The unprecedented speed with which they dissolved Parliament has been a trump card in the hands of the opposition. Apart from this trump, however, the opposition holds little that will be of any use. It was probably this desperate lack which induced Manion to try the trick of "National Government."

Political cryptographers are still trying to decipher just what Dr. Manion means by National Government. Premier King has informed the country that neither he nor any of his ministers would be party to such a government; Manion has returned the compliment by informing his opponents that they would not in any case be invited. The field left open to Dr. Manion includes the C. C. F., the Hepburn Liberals, the Social Credit Party, and the New Democracy movement. Sober opinion holds that by National Government Manion means nothing more than government by the Conservative Party. Be that as it may, nothing has done so much to bedevil the following of the Conservative Party as this *ignis fatuus* of Dr. Manion's.

For the average citizen the issues of preparedness and war effort must remain a welter of accusations and counter-accusations. Manion insists that the First Division departed for Europe without complete equipment. Defense Minister Rogers lists the number of cannon and machine-guns that it took along. Manion retorts that the field guns were all of 1918 vintage and the machine-guns were due to be replaced. Manion accuses the Liberals of sabotaging Canada's military preparations during their years in office. The Liberals accuse ex-Premier Bennett of neglecting Canada's defenses during his period of power (1930-35). The Conservatives say that Canada provoked the war by refusing to announce solidarity with Britain during the Munich crisis. Premier King blandly replies that his position has always been that the question of war or peace was for Parliament to decide.

The support of Mitchell Hepburn, Premier of Ontario, is scarcely welcomed by the Conservatives. Hepburn, who can be as tempestuous and irascible as a spoiled child—his worst exhibitions have been characterized by downright boorishness—has a rare faculty for compromising himself and his friends. At the beginning of the campaign Hepburn announced that he intended to remain neutral. Today most Conservatives fervently wish that he had kept his word. His motion of censure in the

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Ontario Parliament, his decision to ban the showing of the March of Time film "Canada at War," his ill-considered criticisms of the War Department have militated against the Conservatives despite his current pretense of neutrality.

The Conservative Party might have made a much better case for itself had it taken a consistent stand for democracy. Its vehement protests about the "scuttling" of Parliament were prompted by little more than a partisan desire to get at the government files so that it could prove its charges of patronage. It has been left for Mr. Woodsworth of the C. C. F. to point out that for the first seven months of the war there have been two brief sessions of Parliament which altogether covered less than a week's time; that Parliament did not pass on the Defense of Canada Regulations, did not decide to send an expeditionary force, did not decide to make Canada the arsenal of the empire, did not decide on the empire air-training scheme. The one thing that Parliament did pass on was the declaration of war—and even here the decision was anticipated by the speech from the throne, which spoke of "the state of war which now exists. . . ." And Premier King was the man who said, "Parliament will decide"!

The Conservatives have protested, justly, against the censoring of their radio speeches. But here again their democratic protestations indicate precious little altruism. The radio censorship is but a minor phase of the war dictatorship under which Canada has been living these last months. The Defense of Canada Regulations have already achieved an international notoriety; so stringent are they that in comparison the British War Regulations would pass as a Bill of Rights. The Conservatives might have taken advantage of the widespread discontent with the War Regulations; instead they seem to consider them a part of the inevitable order of things. The task of the opposition has again fallen on the shoulders of the tiny C. C. F. group.

At the time of writing the consensus of expert opinion points to another victory for the Liberals. They have the advantage of incumbency in office, they have a far abler group of political propagandists, they have apparently won the backing of the money barons, and to cap it all they have the leadership of William Lyon Mackenzie King, whose masterly opportunism has made him Prime Minister of Canada for fourteen out of the last twenty years. In the present House the Liberals have a majority of 176 out of 245; the Conservatives have 39 seats, Social Credit 15, and the C. C. F. 7. Whether the Liberals will be able to retain their tremendous majority not even the experts can say.

Whichever of the two major parties wins, it will make little actual difference to the people of Canada. The disagreements between them are confined to monstrously exaggerated bickerings over political patronage, military expenditures in the years 1930-38, the quality of Canada's war effort, and the like. The basic issues of democracy, parliamentary rights, and war aims and the still important question of unemployment play a small part in their propaganda. As for the C. C. F., which has at least concerned itself with these issues, its little group is still a voice crying in the wilderness.

In the Wind

HOLLYWOOD ACTORS and writers, organizing to defend themselves against the coming Dies "exposé," have been coldly rebuffed by William Green. To their plea for support Green replied with a vigorous rebuke. He assured them that Dies was no menace to anyone "except Communists," and that the Dies committee deserved "co-operation" not "hindrance."

WHEN THE French film "The Baker's Wife" opened here, the proceeds of the first performance were turned over to Le Paquet au Front, an organization raising funds for packages for French soldiers. The film is based on a novel by Jean Giono—who is in a French jail for opposing the war.

IN *THE NATION* several weeks ago Henry Kranz, short-wave monitor for CBS, wrote that the German short-wave radio propagandists suffered from a fatal lack of humor. Shortly afterward, as Kranz was at his listening post, he heard the "week-end poet," one of the Nazi broadcasters, angrily attacking Kranz and *The Nation* for his article and asserting that Americans have no sense of humor.

A BITTER ATTACK on "Russian bombardments" of "defenseless objectives" appeared on January 25 in the Madrid newspaper *ABC. . . . Facts in Review,* the Nazi propaganda bulletin, apparently forgets that Jewish books have been burned and that Jewish authors are taboo; a recent issue contains a citation from Oppenheim's "International Law." . . . Three days before the Russo-Finnish war came to an end the *Daily Worker* ran a front-page editorial insisting that all "peace talk" was propaganda designed to "bolster" the "White Guard" regime and prevent Kuusinen from taking over.

A REPORTER, London sources relate, asked a friend who worked for the Ministry of Information how he could get a job there. "Just walk in, sit down at a desk, and collect your check on Friday," he was told. A week later they met again. "How are things going?" the reporter was asked. "Fine," he replied, "I have a desk and I was paid today. The only thing that bothers me is that a man has been following me all week." "That's all right," he was assured, "he's on your staff."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

THE Committee on Militarism in Education has just called attention to a remarkable seventy-one-page report on military training at the University of California recently prepared and published by the peace committee of the Associated Students at that institution. It is by all odds the clearest and most convincing argument against compulsory military drill yet produced. If the university Board of Regents can be influenced by sound reasoning backed by evidence that cannot be gainsaid, we shall in a short time see California joining the University of Wisconsin, the University of Minnesota, and North Dakota Agricultural College in shifting military training from a compulsory to a voluntary basis. That is the first recommendation of the student committee. Its second is the establishment of a peace court for dealing with the problems of war and peace, to be advertised to the students as a course on education for peace. To meet the argument that there is no money for establishing a new course, the committee recommends that an existing course on international relations be made over. Its third recommendation is that the intramural athletic program now partially financed by the Associated Students should be expanded and completely taken over by the university. This, it says, would be by far the best solution of the problem of providing all students with physical education and general health-building activities.

Since the War Department has been empowered by Congress to extend military training to the high schools and colleges of the country, I propose to give the rest of my space to part of the summary of this report made by the Committee on Militarism in Education. It begins by pointing out that, contrary to widespread belief, there is no federal legislation requiring compulsory enrolment and that the university would not suffer financially or otherwise by making drill voluntary. Moreover, the Board of Regents has the power under the California constitution to make the drill voluntary. The following are some of the other important points made:

Compulsory R. O. T. C. has little or no physical-educational benefits:

a. The exercise it provides for the cadets is of the wrong sort.
b. The uniforms are the wrong kind to wear for exercise and physical exertion.
c. The physical training that is presented is not compatible with that required by the type of society in which we live.
d. Military instructors are in no way qualified to teach physical education.

Compulsory R. O. T. C. is of little value for national defense:

a. The War Department does not urge or even suggest that enrolment in the R. O. T. C. be made compulsory.
b. Men taking merely the basic two-year course are not potential reserve officers, would not be commissioned in time of war, and are not part of our system of national defense.
c. The training given in the two-year basic course could be given in one week of intensive training.
d. Voluntary R. O. T. C. is a much less expensive method of turning out reserve officers than is compulsory R. O. T. C.
e. The R. O. T. C. course today is not teaching the students the necessary things that fighting a war connotes: it trains students to outmoded methods of warfare, with outmoded weapons of war, with outmoded tactics: there is no bayonet drill, no gas-mask drill.

Compulsory military training does not provide good citizenship training or create good citizens:

a. The type of citizenship taught is not compatible with the needs of contemporary society.
b. Military "citizenship training" is not compatible with the needs of other departments in the university, or with those of education in general.
c. The military instructors are in no way qualified to teach citizenship.
d. In the R. O. T. C. courses no time is devoted to even that minimum of citizenship training that the military department claims it gives.

Compulsory military drill does not develop character:

a. Compulsory R. O. T. C. makes for parrot-like repetition and unthinking, unquestioning obedience.
b. Character can only be developed where the curriculum is full of opportunities for individual decisions.

The R. O. T. C. develops a mind which accepts war as "inevitable":

a. The students are presented with a parade-ground version of warfare that ends on the parade ground and at the military ball.
b. Necessary truths are being withheld from the students in the R. O. T. C. as to what warfare will really mean in their lives.

If the university continues the compulsory R. O. T. C. course it is denying elementary civil liberties to many students.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Hello to Reform

THE AMERICAN STAKES. By John Chamberlain. Carrick and Evans. $2.75.

THE tides are running toward the right, the chambers of commerce are in cheerful mood, and the intellectuals are revising Karl Marx. John Chamberlain's "Farewell to Reform" (1932) and his new "American Stakes" mark off an era in the thinking of the politically literate. The farewell turns out to have been an *auf wiedersehen.* For this attempt to plot a not so new approach to American problems, domestic and foreign, is as persuasive a plea for gradualism as "Farewell to Reform" was an attack upon it. It is easy to set the Chamberlain of 1932 tilting with the Chamberlain of 1940. A "planned capitalism," he felt then, was "a contradiction in terms." Now he believes that "Western planners—see the files of *Plan Age*—have developed a technique . . . of limited, or partial, planning. This technique does not require dictatorial control . . . for it begins by research and ends in the consulting chamber." The final phrase is not intended to be ironic. Chamberlain 1940 dwells on the "need for a modern substitute for the Homestead Act or the new county and state roads of the early twentieth century." Chamberlain 1932 sneered at the "economic parrot" who looks for "new markets to be uncovered, new wants to be exploited." "The situation," Chamberlain wrote in 1932, ". . . can lead to but one of two personal conclusions: it can make one either a cynic or a revolutionist." He has ended instead in a standard variety of social democracy, though he prefers to call it political pluralism.

The situation that has made Chamberlain, and so many of his generation, new-style social democrats is not the same situation that left him the alternative of cynicism or revolution. By 1932 the achievements of the muckrakers, the trust-busters, and the Wilsonians, which "Farewell to Reform" discusses, were either dead letters on statute books or weapons in the hands of the interests they were intended to curb. Business indexes were at new lows; Mr. Roosevelt's speeches were not too different from Mr. Hoover's; there was no unemployment in the Soviet Union. Technocrats were at a premium on Park Avenue, and Wall Street was hoping to appease the coming revolution with ergs. In this context gradualism looked far too gradual. But the unexpected happened. Neither grass nor barricades appeared in the streets. Mr. Roosevelt provided the "confidence" Mr. Hoover had prescribed. The rather plausible politician from Albany rose to greatness in the White House, and the stock of reformism began to rise. Hitler's seizure of power and his refusal to reach a modus vivendi with the Soviet Union led to the Popular Front, and the Popular Front also turned amateur revolutionists into amateur gradualists. The Moscow trials, less glamorous than Five-Year Plan statistics, added to the trend. It was at this point that Chamberlain—as our pious friends say—fell off the locomotive of history. The trials, he writes in "The American Stakes," were "dramatic evidence of a socialist horn to the age-old dilemma of blending freedom and economic security," evidence that the Russion state was substituting "the courtier vices of deference and loyalty, and the courtier vices of fawning and intrigue" for the vices of capitalism. Here is the ideological divide between the Chamberlain of 1932 and the Chamberlain of 1940.

Chamberlain wants to steer a course between "a capitalism that makes for monopoly and a socialism that makes for monolithic party government." All he now admires in communism is the NEP. "If the Communists had been scientific planners, instead of 'scientific socialists,' " he writes, "they would have learned fast in 1921-28. They would have said to themselves: 'This NEP isn't pure socialism. But it works quite well in the handicraft-vegetable area of the economy, where no bottlenecks can be seized by bold entrepreneurs. Now let's go on to steel mills without disturbing NEP to the peasants.' " What he wants to do is to get away from the " 'either-or' boys" and "to hymn the virtue of a mixed economy, an eternally pluralistic economy, not in terms of presenting an argument for chaos or the status quo, but in terms of indicating the proper components of a permanently workable dynamic balance . . . the glamour of the all-or-nothing approach to our social problems must be exposed for the shoddy tinsel that it is." Chamberlain does not take these propositions apart and examine them as closely as he should. The abandonment of the NEP seems to have been a political rather than an economic move, dictated by fear of the development of a new class living on profit and hostile to socialism. The question of reform versus revolution is not a question determined by abstractions but by historical circumstances. There is revolution where reform fails, but the failure of reform is not "inevitable." Chamberlain does not grapple with the crucial problem of determining just what the "proper components of a permanently workable dynamic balance" for this country would be.

War, Chamberlain believes, will upset the whole equation. But, given peace, if the gradualist approach is to be effective, its advocates must do a better job of revising "Marxism" and of analyzing the products of New Deal reformism. Chamberlain's criticism of "Marxism," like so much of current revisionism, starts with definitions so loose as to beg the question. "Marxists fail generally to understand the *democratic* state," he writes, "because they assume that the force of an owning class knows no limits and is always agreed on its aim. . . . The Marxist, looking at the naked power base of politics, forgets that original characteristics can be diluted and even transmuted by democratic custom." I do not pretend to be an authority on Marxism, but the idea of the "naked power base of politics" derives from Oppenheimer not Marx. Marxists themselves differ on the question of the state as widely as the "pluralistic" Kautsky, who stated Chamberlain's basic thesis long before Cham-

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berlain,* differs from the "either-or" Lenin (who was not always so "either-or"). Marx's favorite joke seems to have been to deny that he was a Marxist, but he is not an unfair test of Chamberlain's statement. If, as Chamberlain implies, the "Marxist" regards democratic processes as illusory, why did Marx hail the English ten-hour law as a great victory for the workers and hold up the American eight-hour movement as an example for the European proletariat? Why did Marx praise Rochdale cooperatives, even as Chamberlain does? The problem is subtler and more difficult than Chamberlain's statement of it.

Intellectually, it is far simpler to be a revolutionary purist than a "pluralistic" reformer, and it is not fair to blame Chamberlain for failing to provide a blueprint of the social order for which he is groping. But gradualism for its success demands the same kind of tough-mindedness that "Farewell to Reform" brought to bear on past attempts at reformism. If the advances of the Roosevelt period are to be maintained and pushed forward, the New Deal's cast of characters and regulatory agencies must be subjected to as keen a scrutiny as the best of the pre-war progressives gave the Interstate Commerce Commission and the state railroad and utility commissions. Otherwise the victories of today may prove as negligible as yesterday's, and the whole attempt at gradualism bog down. "The American Stakes" approaches the SEC, Thurman Arnold, Mayor LaGuardia, Phil La Follette, in too mellow a mood. Chamberlain is somewhat premature when he calls Arnold "the first vigorous trust-buster in our history"; like Teddy Roosevelt, Arnold talks big and carries a little consent decree. To term Knickerbocker Village a triumph of "practical idealism" is to be the victim of a runaway cliché. To include the notorious California Fruit Growers' Exchange and the Dairymen's League among the triumphs of the cooperative movement is again to take appearance for reality. Chamberlain sees that we must go beyond the New Deal, that "the fight, in the future, will be over the question of increasing our total production instead of spreading what production we have," but he is alarmingly tender with Phil La Follette, who sets these same words to demagogic tunes.

I. F. STONE

Improvisations of Reality

THE CRAZY HUNTER. By Kay Boyle. Harcourt, Brace, and Company. $2.50.

IN THE three long stories that make up this volume Kay Boyle in no way deviates from the norms set in her previous work. Again one notes the fragility of her themes and their detachment from substantial experience and convincing locations. In the main she still depends for her effects on an implacably pursued rarity of phrase.

The three stories are unified by a common concern with integrity of feeling and its violation by the compulsive accidents of life and the callous conventions of society. In the title-piece a blind horse becomes the issue disrupting the tranquillity of a genteel English family; the mother has resolved to have the horse shot, while the daughter, in the purity and absolutism of her youthful spirit, tries to avert the deed of violence, which in her mind swells into an all-comprehensive image of cruelty, fear, and death. "The Bridegroom's Body," probing the frustration of women in a world of males, is saved from vagueness and remoteness by its effective symbolism of mating and battling swans. "Big Fiddle," sturdier than the other stories yet least impressive, tells about an American jazz player in Europe who is accused of a murder which he did not commit.

Weighed down by a burden of excessive detail, these narratives move at a snail's pace; for detail often serves Miss Boyle merely as an occasion for a gratuitous display of her literary powers rather than as a means of creating verisimilitude, of naturalizing and deepening the projected scenes and characters. The difficulty, however, is that the seeming richness of texture cannot mitigate her failure to produce fiction more accomplished than the sensitive, and at times moving, improvisations of reality which she now has to her credit. Nor does her gift of arranging words in a unique manner carry her very far beyond the suspect pleasures of verbal virtuosity—and virtuosity should not be confused with excellence of style. Language, as Eliot once remarked, is healthy only when it directly presents the object, when it is so close to it that the two are identified. Otherwise it becomes morbid and unreal.

To my mind, the chief defect in Miss Boyle's equipment as an artist is to be traced to her lack of a subject which is organically her own; and by an organic subject I mean something more tangible than a fixed interest in certain abstract patterns of emotion and behavior. Being in possession of an elaborate technique and having developed disciplined habits of observation, Miss Boyle seems to be able to turn her hand to almost anything. As a result one feels all too often that she is not really involved with her themes, that she has not conceived but merely used them. And what, after all, is the difference between use and conception if not a measure of the gap separating competence from creation.

PHILIP RAHV

Mr. Gitlow Regrets

I CONFESS: THE TRUTH ABOUT AMERICAN COMMUNISM. By Benjamin Gitlow. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.75.

CONFESSION may be good for the soul, but six hundred pages of it is plain overindulgence. Mr. Gitlow's fulsome penance inevitably recalls more famous instances of the Bolshevik bent for confessing, but in fact there is a profound difference. The Moscow comrades confessed the sins they had committed—or said they had committed—against the Communist Party; for the most part Mr. Gitlow confesses the sins which the party committed against him. However, there is enough of the flagellant in him to warrant some comparison and more than enough to make much of his book uncomfortable reading. He freely includes himself in the ranks of the damned and describes with relish the depravities of his party days. "We were pretty mean and heartless," he writes, speaking of the "lynching bee" staged

* "In a Socialist society," Kautsky wrote, "there can exist side by side the most varied forms of economic enterprises—bureaucratic, trade union, cooperative, private."

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by the Central Executive Committee when it drove Ludwig Lore out of the party as a heretic. "But at the time we did not even question the ethics of hounding an innocent scapegoat at the behest of the Comintern leaders." When he points out how Jay Lovestone and he opposed the scheme of shooting an American flag full of holes in order to display it at a party rally as a flag captured by Sandino in Nicaragua, he feels compelled to add: "Note that even our opposition to this bit of knavery was purely on the grounds of expediency. It occurred to none of us to consider the matter in the light of ordinary human decency."

These little close-ups—they are scattered through the book—are not of a sort to reassure the reader concerning the reliability of Mr. Gitlow's testimony. Neither is the extreme bitterness of his delineations of everybody in the party, from Stalin, "like a panther about to pounce upon his prey," down to the most wretched factional tool ordered by Gitlow and his caucus mates to steal a briefcase from a rival factionalist. Unlike the Hatfields and the McCoys, the comrades of the "third period" days rarely stayed put in any one clan but switched around like old-time Chinese generals, shopping in this faction and that for the best buy in prestige, power, and opportunity for advancement. The result was that in an active career like Gitlow's a man would at one time or another have experienced the hearty enmity of practically everyone else in the party. All that in-fighting left Gitlow a mass of scars, and it is hard to determine in his book where fact ends and Gitlow grudge begins.

But the reader loses little if he quickly abandons any effort to examine judiciously every strand in the web of intrigue, gossip, and conscienceless power politics which Gitlow weaves about the party from its birth. His versions of the thousand and one plots and counter-plots that marked his days as a Communist are not important; what is important, and grimly convincing, is the web itself, the pattern of the party's history, which his book reveals. Anyone with the most fleeting experience in leftist politics knows the corrosive power of factionalism. If Mr. Gitlow's book were a mere compilation of the countless rows, rifts, cabals, and conspiracies within the party it would have significance only for those modern Schoolmen who care how many proletarians can dance on the junction point of a hammer and sickle. But the volume goes beyond that and raises some major questions.

Mr. Gitlow argues, and I believe he makes a good case, that factionalism originates in quasi-dictatorship and ends in full-fledged dictatorship. In its earlier days the Communist Party of the United States, and of any other country for that matter, took its cues, its directives, and much of its money from Moscow. From the first, Gitlow maintains—and there is much documentation to back him up—the Russian party was the only one that had the privilege of instructing its delegates to the Comintern; moreover, it enjoyed the exclusive power to review and alter Comintern policy. The Comintern itself fixed the course for the parties of all countries, issued ultimatums, shifted comrades around not only from position to position but even from country to country, summoned leaders to Moscow for discipline, and voted funds for party activities to supplement those raised at home. The American comrades could argue up to a point

The book that tells what happened to our Liberals in the last war.

A LIBERAL IN WARTIME

THE EDUCATION OF ALBERT DESILVER

By Walter Nelles. Edited by Lewis Gannett, with Introduction by Roger N. Baldwin

"Albert DeSilver, associate director of the American Civil Liberties Union during and after the first World War, was a liberal who was born a conservative, and who was willing to give his full vigor to the defense of radicals, without ever becoming a radical himself. He stood for the most free and most deep-rooted Americanism at a time when the word was being perverted to connotations of reaction, intolerance and actual despotism; and he did it because he respected individual rights and human dignities, loved freedom and had a passion for justice. Roger Baldwin says this book is especially pertinent now; but he limits it too greatly. This portrait of an American is of permanent value . . . its transcendent importance is in its expression and embodiment of the essential spirit of American democracy." —*N. Y. Times Book Review.* $2.50

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NATIVE SON

BY RICHARD WRIGHT

"The most powerful novel to appear since 'The Grapes of Wrath'," says Clifton Fadiman of this novel by a Negro about a Negro that has overwhelmed the country.

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HARPERS

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with the delegates sent over to keep an eye on them, but the court of last resort was in Moscow. The natural result of this kind of rule from above was the formation of illicit cliques and cabals. Each held its own secret meetings and surreptitiously got out its own caucus paper; each schemed feverishly against its rivals, flooded the high court with coded cables, and sent secret emissaries abroad to convince the authorities that it was the only loyal group, the only one worthy of provincial leadership. Paralysis set in.

Then came the lightning. The man who eliminated factionalism in the U. S. R. R. eliminated it in the C. P. U. S. A. The party of Gitlow's day never experienced the unanimity that marks its course today. There are no factions; there are no differences of opinion. With the factionalism went the last vestige of democracy. But as Gitlow acutely points out, the two had nothing in common: the factionalism of the Communist Party, far from being a guaranty of democracy, was the catalyst that hurried the change from autocratic influence to totalitarian control. Genuine political democracy throughout the Communist movement might have made the fatal aspects of factionalism unnecessary, but that, unfortunately, was ruled out from the start. As a result Lenin begot Stalin and Stalin begot the miasma which rises from every page of Mr. Gitlow's unhappy saga. ROBERT BENDINER

Look Beyond the Law

LOOK AT THE LAW. By Percival E. Jackson. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.75.

WHEN a doctor gets disillusioned with his profession he tries to write a novel like "The Citadel"; a journalist or a radical writes an autobiography; but a lawyer fires a broadside volume at the whole structure of bench and bar. Here is another testament by a lawyer, in some respects similar to Rodell's turbulent "Woe Unto You, Lawyers" (previously reviewed in *The Nation*), bearing witness that the cynical layman's view of the law is on the whole justified. One begins to wonder whether we may not be at the beginning of a sizable flurry of legal muckraking.

Unlike Rodell, Jackson does not consign to the flames the whole of the law. He wants particular reforms in the legal system. As a result his way of organizing his material is simple, although it tends to looseness. He starts with ten charges that the layman makes against the law, devoting a chapter to each: that there is too much law, that it is uncertain, rigid, technical, hypocritical, slow, expensive, that lawyers are dishonest, judges corrupt, and witnesses liars. While this has the merit of being rooted in the lay consciousness, it tempts the author to empty his notebooks into each chapter. In a way, however, I am happy that he has succumbed to the temptation. For each chapter is studded with richly illustrative stories taken from law reports, newspapers, lawyers' lore. They make the core of the book and are worth its price. In fact, I confess that the examples remain in my mind even when the commentary has slipped away.

Mr. Jackson is, I have said, a legal reformer rather than a legal revolutionist. He wants to change, not abolish, law and lawyers. He feels that both are inevitable parts of the social fabric; in fact, in a rather stuffy chapter toward the end he argues that unless Americans reform their law we shall get either communism or fascism. This is decidedly to mistake symptom for cause in our present social demoralization.

Yet there are insights in the book that go deeper. The author sees at times that law and lawyers are neither better nor worse than other men; that they are what they are because they reflect our economic and political set-up. And he sees that "reform of the law and of the lawyers cannot come from within; that it can and will come, as it has in England, only through popular appeal and understanding." But when he comes to his final chapters of "Remedy" he shifts from realism to the hortatory. "Let lawyers subscribe to their code at whatever cost. . . . We must restore to lawyers a sense of their importance and obligation to government." Fine, but how? Here we approach the fault line in Mr. Jackson's analysis: in one part of the book he sees the law as social product; in another he sees it as autonomous—self-remedying and presumably self-causing. To be sure, he uses as subtitle the phrase "The law is what the layman makes it," yet this is so only in the sense that it is so of all social institutions. And here again Mr. Jackson contents himself with the hortatory, calling on the layman to do something about it.

I suspect there will be no substantial change in either law or lawyers without a substantial shift in the base of economic power. Mr. Jackson's reference to England might have furnished a clue. Bentham and the philosophic radicals got a measure of law reform through Romilly and Brougham because they had behind them a capitalist class that was already on its way to power; it was principally the landed aristocracy that resisted the reforms. But since then (see the comments on England in Laski's essay on Law and Justice in the Soviet Union in his recent "The Danger of Being a Gentleman") English legal conservatism has been as tenacious as the American. What Veblen wrote in 1904 in his "Theory of Business Enterprise" about law and politics in both countries being adjuncts to business enterprise is even truer today. It is ironic that a quarter-century ago Louis Brandeis should have published a volume of essays asking business men to emulate lawyers and become a profession, while today we are increasingly aware that the legal profession itself has become a business. If "the law is what the layman makes it" it is only in the sense that every social system and every ethos fashion their own legal system, and that the path to radical reform in the law lies in reshaping society as a whole and, crucially, its structure of economic power. I no more agree with Mr. Jackson that there can be a basic reform by laymen in the law alone than I do with Mr. Rodell that there can be a revolution by laymen against the law alone. MAX LERNER

Stranger in the Land

THE STRANGER. By Rose Albert Porter. The Dial Press. $2.75.

CAN a Jew, by running away from his home, family, and everything that stands for the religion of his ancestors, really escape the subtle, tentacle-like encumbrances of his race's heritage? Will he find at the end of his flight that he has squandered most of his spiritual forces on the mere fruitless running-away, that his real goal all along was

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something more easily attainable and at the same time more worth fighting for? These questions are implied, though only partly answered, in "The Stranger," the story of a young Russian immigrant groping passionately for the vital essence of America. Having shaken off the dogma and ritualism of his father's inflexible creed, Philip Magell is dismayed to find in New York and Philadelphia Jews still cramped in noisy, shabby ghettos of their own choosing, hugging their old-country fetishes to their bosoms, while out in the copper hills of Montana most of the people—Jews and Gentiles alike—are blindly absorbed in their sordid game of dog eat dog, oblivious to nature's example of open-handed bounty and freedom.

Although Philip has intelligence and good looks and is unshackled by worship of tradition, he is extremely vulnerable to ridicule and to appeals for pity or sympathy. Envying the gumption of the copper barons and big-time gamblers, he has nevertheless too many ethical scruples to carve out a fortune by their kind of brigandage; realizing that one's own spiritual integrity alone can bring durable satisfaction, he nevertheless lacks courage and self-assurance to make a desperate stand for what he believes is right, until the crucial opportunity has passed. With remarkably little bias Mrs. Porter follows his restless flight, really a flight from himself, which makes him a stranger both among his own people and among the Americans to whom he yearns to be assimilated; and the story of his failure reflects not only the tribulations of a foreigner and a Jew but the tragedy of all men who discover too late that they have mistaken their own maladjustment for a malignant, inexorable fate, that the door which they have for years tried to batter down was never locked.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

Decadence and Dylan Thomas

THE WORLD I BREATHE. By Dylan Thomas. New Directions. $2.50.

THAT "most exciting development in English poetry during the last few years," the work of the young Welshman Dylan Thomas, is very decadent art. We take our definition from Havelock Ellis, from the essay on Huysmans in his "Affirmations." "The classic manner," we read there, "subordinates the parts to the whole and strives after the virtues which the whole may best express. The later [decadent] manner depreciates the importance of the whole for the benefit of its parts, and strives after the virtues of individualism." In the representative selections from Thomas's three slender volumes of verse and handful of fantastic, sinister stories in poetic prose which constitute "The World I Breathe," the "whole" of poetry, the integrity of emotive and intuitive meanings, no longer or only very partially exists.

Vaguely the verses represent an interior world. It is "the pantheist totality and the obscure world underneath the skin." (The words are William Empson's: he is one of the important critics who feel Thomas to be a poet and a good one.) As much is to be gathered from Thomas's statement that "poetry must drag further into the clean nakedness of light even more of the hidden causes than Freud could

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realize." Poems such as those commencing, "Where once the waters of your face" and "The hand that signed the paper felled a city," most certainly appear to be mystic symbols of the present stages of the cosmic life. The dreamlike world of the prose expresses a Welsh feeling of the diabolic core of creation. Still in many instances the intuitive meanings are hopelessly obscure. The prose recklessly mixes poetic with morbid experience and hallucinations. We perceive that despite his surrealism the poet is fairly indifferent to intuitive meanings, more than prepared to subordinate them to emotive ones: again and again drunkenly he has sacrificed his "criticism of life" to the splendors of form, sonority, sensuous effect.

It is almost exclusively for ear and eye that his fastidiously fashioned verse and prose have satisfactions. These none the less are rich. The verses are verbal scores. Oftentimes wry, the sounds lead an amusing life of their own and generate each other. The movement frequently recaptures an eighteenth-century vigor and stateliness: lines like "Awake, my sleeper, to the sun,/ A worker in the morning town," etc., approach, as closely as verse so sublime in pitch and image as that of Thomas can approach poetry of the elegant century, "From hence, ye beauties, undeceived," etc. Entire stanzas of his chant wonderfully:

> *Some let me make you of the vowelled beeches,*
> Some of the oaken voices, from the roots
> Of many a thorny shire tell you notes,
> Some let me make you of the water's speeches.

The flow of singular, not infrequently powerful, images is steady. The circumstance that well-nigh every line is a unique image, a minute poem, intensifies the taut rhythmicality. Finales such as "By the sea's side hear the dark-vowelled birds" or "to that Day/ When the worm builds with the gold straws of venom/ My nest of mercies in the rude, red tress" penetrate by virtue of intrinsic weight and magic.

That to an extent this work is a protest on the part of a young English poet against his immediate predecessors, the Audens and Spenders and their MacNephews and MacNeices, is a suggestion flowing from a recent study by Herbert Read. The article gave Thomas's negligence of intuitive meanings the look of a condemnation of the social and political comment which provided too much of the content of the verses of the poetic journalists; his accentuation of beauty of texture, the look of a condemnation of their limp and catarrhal form. The chief importance of this suggestion lies, however, in its reference of ourselves to the possible social significance of this decadent literature, with its accentuation of the life of an individual part at the expense of the totality. One of the questions it raises is whether the object against which this poetry may be thought to protest may not be less Auden and company than the collectivism they espoused. Its characteristics certainly give it the appearance of an individualistic protest. Another question is whether that protest may not have its lever in something far transcending the individual, Dylan Thomas. Let no one consider them irrelevant. Thomas is said to be very much "in" with Welsh nationalists. Just before the war broke out he was expected to edit a paper of Welsh cultural nationalism. And art has long been among the shadows cast before them by coming evolution and events.

PAUL ROSENFELD

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IN BRIEF

BETHEL MERRIDAY. By Sinclair Lewis. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

In this novel Sinclair Lewis takes the theater under his protection. As wide-eyed as a country boy viewing the bohemians on his first visit to Greenwich Village, he surveys the wonderland of the stage with irrepressible enthusiasm and some apt humor. Mr. Lewis has evidently enjoyed his play-acting of recent years, for no one has ever treated stage folk in fiction with more goodwill. Lively and no doubt exact in all details as a piece of reporting, the story is otherwise soft and effeminate. The author never takes a look into the insides of his characters, but is content to record their miseries and triumphs and to engage in copious discussions of their profession. He follows slavishly the itinerary of his assembled cast while it entertains provincial America with a version of "Romeo and Juliet" in modern dress. The one member of the troupe not portrayed in a purely external manner is Zed Wintergeist, a fanciful young man exhibiting all the traits of a Group Theater intellectual. The heroine, Bethel, whose career is traced from middle-class childhood in Connecticut to minor success on Broadway and happy marriage, is such a completely virtuous young lady and so dully and whole-heartedly devoted to her art that she turns out to be the least interesting person in the book.

CONVERSATION. By Conrad Aiken. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.50.

This novel is of the type that reviewers like to describe as "civilized." Mr. Aiken, who has better fiction to his credit, here describes a domestic crisis in the family of an artist living on Cape Cod. The husband is, of course, an unpractical fellow and doesn't mind being poor, while his beautiful wife is insufficiently sympathetic. The situation is further complicated by the appearance of Jim Connor, a New York bohemian who steals furs from department stores in order to supply his indigent friends with some ready cash. In the end, however, the wrangling couple recognize—in words at least—the objective meaning of their difficulties and are reconciled. Nothing is really settled between them; presumably such are the finalities of existence. The story is urbanely written and has a few mildly resonant passages. All in all a pretty trivial performance.

POLITE ESSAYS. By Ezra Pound. New Directions. $2.50.

A new collection of not so new essays. Published in various places over roughly the last ten years, they employ Pound's famous "ideogrammic" method to communicate his now equally famous views on critics and literature. The perpetual clever undergraduate who mistakes rudeness for iconoclasm, this ex-enfant terrible is also a very sound critic when he comes to grips with a real subject.

GOING NATIVE. By Oliver St. John Gogarty. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $3.

Novel? Satire? Travel diary? This entertaining, scandalous, and not very important book by the celebrated original of Buck Mulligan in "Ulysses" lightly recounts the adventures of (we trust) an imaginary Irishman who visits England on the advice of Yeats and tries to "go native." Without going very deep—and sometimes going quite wrong—it manages to convey a good deal of what everybody knows but rarely sees in print about the more emancipated circles of the English upper class. As a famous Irishman, the author works wit, poetry, and Dublin for all they are worth; but he is undeniably amusing.

SHANGHAI: CITY FOR SALE. By Ernest O. Hauser. Harcourt, Brace, and Company. $3.

A picture of the world's fifth-largest city, founded by British and Americans in 1843 as center of a ruthless commercial imperialism. Entertaining as well as informative, it covers a century of history in full detail drawn from research and from first-hand acquaintance, a century which ends with the eclipse of the white man's supremacy under the stress of recent events.

LIFE ON THE CIRCUIT WITH LINCOLN. By Henry Clay Whitney. Edited by Paul M. Angle. Caxton Printers. $5.

A new edition of the now rare volume of recollections of a friend and contemporary, provided with an introduction, notes, and illustrations—some from unusual contemporary photographs—by the secretary of the Illinois Historical Society. It is flowery and verbose but gives a lifelike impression.

CHIP OFF MY SHOULDER. By Thomas L. Stokes. Princeton University Press. $3.

A still young Washington correspondent, winner of a 1939 Pulitzer prize, gives a graphic report of his Atlanta childhood, and of life in the capital and other parts of the country in the period from Harding to Roosevelt. He has a gift for re-creating personalities and bringing facts to life. Like a good reporter, he changes his social philosophy with the times. Like many good reporters, he sometimes overwrites.

THE DUTCH: A PORTRAIT OF THE PEOPLE OF HOLLAND. By Adriaan J. Barnouw. Columbia University Press. $3.

Not a history, a travelogue, or a survey, this book is an interpretation of Dutch life and character by a native of Holland (at one time *The Nation's* correspondent at The Hague) who has been Queen Wilhelmina professor of the history, language, and literature of the Netherlands in Columbia University for twenty years. Distinctly non-academic and written especially for American readers, it is both lively and enlightening, but it is conspicuously silent on economic questions as such.

A HISTORY OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND PHILOSOPHY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By A. Wolf. The Macmillan Company. $8.

This is the second volume of Mr. Wolf's exhaustive history of modern science and technology. (Of the section on philosophy the less said the kinder to him.) It does not cover so dazzling a period of scientific progress as did the first volume, for the great scientists of the eighteenth century do not compare in stature with their predecessors of the seventeenth and sixteenth. In the eighteenth science approximated more what we take to be its normal progress—a progress depending on the steady cooperation of a multitude of more or less anonymous researchers, with an occasional figure of very high distinction, rather than on the revolutionary contributions of towering geniuses seemingly rising by their own unaided power to great heights. Nevertheless, the period covered by this volume is not a whit less interesting than the earlier century. Birth may be a more obviously dramatic event, but growth and maturation have their own fascination. Mr. Wolf does his job, as he conceives it, with distinguished competence, but only in the colloquial meaning of the word can he be called a historian. For what he gives us is not a history but a chronicle. Problems such as historians seek to resolve are only incidentally touched on. We

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get nothing of the organic growth of science, of the role of the scientific method, of the way in which its use spreads from one field to another, of the forces within and without the laboratory which sustain interest in research and channel its direction. For Mr. Wolf the efficient agent of development is the spirit of the times—a convenient ghostly power which explains everything. But since the progress of science conceived as chronicle is the bare recital of superseded errors, it can be of serious concern only in so far as it can be used to illumine something more than the facts of which it consists. In spite of its limitations, Mr. Wolf's volume should find a place in the library of everyone interested in the development of science and of Western culture, for it is an inexhaustible mine of factual data.

RECORDS

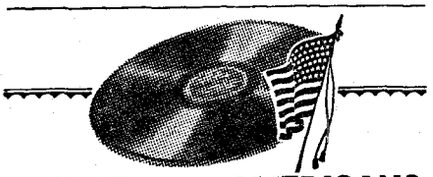
THE reports concerning Dimitri Mitropoulos have been that he has to a remarkable degree the personal force and magnetism that a conductor must have in order to exert power over the minds and wills and bodies of a hundred orchestral players; and one does in fact sense these qualities in the performance of Beethoven's "Coriolanus" Overture that he has recorded for Columbia with his Minneapolis Symphony (11175, $2). They make the performance dynamic and give the work power; but its full power depends on its plastic proportions—such things as the *fortissimo* of the opening chords in proportion to the *forte* with which the following phrase ends; the sudden *piano* of the first four measures of the second subject in proportion to the violence which precedes them and the gradual *crescendo* to *fortissimo* which follows; the *forte* of a phrase in the development in proportion to the *fortissimo* of its repetition a moment later at the climax of the development. And on this record these plastic proportions are not realized: the opening *fortissimo* is barely as loud as the *forte* at the end of the following phrase; the second subject is almost *forte;* the phrase in the development is as loud the first time as the second. To what extent this is Mitropoulos's doing and to what extent the recording engineers' I cannot say. The recording is clear and brilliant; the orchestra seems competent but not distinguished.

One hears a finer personnel, superbly disciplined by a conductor of authority and verve, in the Cleveland Orchestra's performance of "Schéhérazade" under Artur Rodzinski, which is recorded with remarkable clarity and fidelity and a brilliance that is a little hard, and also with a waver at the end (M-398, $10). The Pasquier Trio does some of its beautifully sensitive playing in Beethoven's String Trio Opus 9, No. 3 (M-397, $5), of which I find only the scherzo movement interesting.

I care as little about Schubert's early Quartet No. 9 in G minor, of which a fine performance by the Coolidge Quartet is poorly recorded by Victor (M-641, $4.50). On Victor singles we get Handel's Oboe Concerto No. 1 (12605, $1.50), not one of his best works, but enriched by Leon Goossens's breathtaking tone and style on the oboe and good playing by the London Philharmonic under Eugene Goossens; two bits of Russian liturgical music—Ippolitov-Ivanov's "Behold, Bless Ye the Lord" and the First Psalm of Kiev Monastery, "Blessed Is the Man, Hallelujah"—beautifully sung by the Siberian Singers (4462, $1); the Scherzo-Valse from Chabrier's delightful "Dix pièces pittoresques" for piano, atrociously played by Reginald Stewart (12606, $1.50); and two American folksongs, "John Henry" and "Jack o' Diamonds," sung by John Jacob Niles, and a little harshly recorded (2051, $1.50).

A couple of years ago I pointed out the "ignorance that clothes itself in the terms of erudition" in the Victor leaflets. In the past year or so the show of erudition has become vastly more pretentious: the leaflets signed A. Veinus now contain long, learned-sounding discussions of technical aspects of the music, studded with references to significant details, some of them given in musical notation. There isn't the slightest possibility of the ordinary reader understanding any of this; and he isn't even told exactly where on the records he can as much as hear the details that are referred to. I don't think the intention is that he should understand; I think it is rather that he should be impressed: he is to stand humbly in the doorway and look from a proper distance at the dishes of knowledge on which the élite of the Victor leaflets feast. And it is just as well, for at closer range he would find they are sawdust: the supposedly significant details are the utterly insignificant ones which a man who didn't know what he was talking about would pick in order to show that he knew a great deal. A man who, encountering a simple A-B-A form in which A on its return is ornamented somewhat, calls it an example of theme and variation form is one who, encountering a simple theme and variation movement in a Haydn quartet, will call its normal accompaniment bass a ground bass and will discover in the movement details of the variations on a ground bass form as it existed and developed nowhere but in this man's mind. But what has set me off on this subject is a statement of a different sort: one purpose of the writer of the leaflets is to mention as many other works of the composers that are on Victor records as he can possibly drag in; and in the leaflet of the Schubert Quartet No. 9 the slow movement of the String Quintet Opus 163 (Victor Album M-299) is cited as illustrating—believe it or not—the "rhapsodic exultation which, in the last year of his life, Schubert learned to evoke and control at will." My advice to the reader is what it was—to listen to the music with his own ears and use the leaflets for the various domestic purposes I suggested two years ago.

B. H. HAGGIN



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Letters to the Editors

Mathematics vs. "Morals"

Dear Sirs: The protest against the appointment of Bertrand Russell as professor of philosophy at the College of the City of New York is a sad spectacle. There seems to be no question of Dr. Russell's abilities as a philosopher and mathematician, but a decrying of certain of his ethical beliefs. Because we may not agree with those beliefs, are we to deprive our college students of the stimulus and inspiration of a celebrated thinker? Is this not descending to the practice of a fascist system that deprives itself of special knowledge, as in the case of Dr. Ehrlich and his famous "606," because it was contributed by a "non-Aryan"?

If Bishop Manning and the others are to have their way, why stop with Bertrand Russell? Or is Russell in a special category because he has "propagandized" his views? If so, what becomes of the old saying: Actions speak louder than words?

I am quite certain that Dr. Russell has never forced his particular body of beliefs upon anyone. Why should Christian gentlemen force opinion on Dr. Russell by the none too delicate method of limiting his activities as a teacher and his ability to earn a living as such?

MARGARET LA MANNA

Brooklyn, March 12

Corey and His Critics

Dear Sirs: This is not to answer the comments on my "Marxism" articles, but to set the record straight on several matters of fact.

Algernon Lee writes: "Five years ago he [Corey] had seen his Moloch put on a false-face clumsily simulating the features of democracy. . . . Last August he saw the mask cast aside, saw Bolshevism and Nazism clasping hands—and was Mr. Corey stupefied! Or was he really? Anyway, he has now more or less emerged from his stupor. Six months, in such a case, is perhaps no more than a fair equivalent for the ten seconds allowed in pugilistic practice." Mr. Lee has spun all this out of his inner consciousness. The facts are as follows:

1. I never accepted or defended the "popular front" or the hypocritical Stalinist playing with democracy; in fact, I spoke publicly against both.

2. I was not "stupefied" when Stalinism cast aside the mask and the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed, for I had publicly predicted the pact a year earlier.

3. The ideas I expressed in *The Nation* articles are not a product of the past six months. I first advanced the general ideas in a series of lectures *three years ago* at the Independent Labor Institute, of which Bertram D. Wolfe was director; again at the institute in another series of lectures two years ago; again in a lecture before a seminar of the League for Industrial Democracy in March, 1939, where Norman Thomas was present; again in a lecture at Unity House in July, 1939, where the chairman was Elias Tartak of the Social Democrat *New Leader;* again at a symposium in October, 1939, where one of the speakers was Louis Waldman of Mr. Lee's Democratic Federation.

Bertram Wolfe says: "I think he [Corey] underestimates the trade union as the most important single institution for the development of economic democracy." But as a matter of fact I emphasize in my third article the importance of trade unions as a bulwark of democracy under socialism: "Independent unions, with the right of collective bargaining and the right to strike, must exist to protect the workers who still remain workers and to limit the threat of bureaucracy."

Wolfe then asks: "With whom shall Corey's 'new middle class' combine?" The answer is in my articles: with the other useful functional groups, whose largest component is the proletariat.

Finally, Wolfe writes: "The greater danger is not, as Corey seems to think, that of dictatorship by the mass of producers over the technicians and administrators, but—as happened in Russia—the dictatorship of indispensable technician-administrators over the mass of producers." My articles "imply" nothing of the sort. Wolfe misunderstands and reverses my position, which is that totalitarian dictatorship, whether communist or fascist, is a dictatorship over the mass of producers. I nowhere say there is danger of a dictatorship of the producers over the administrators, for there is no such danger. I do say that if a proletarian dictatorship is set up over a new middle class not won to socialism, it will end as a dictatorship of that class over the proletariat and farmers.

LEWIS COREY

New York, March 13

Should We Try Again?

Dear Sirs: I cannot refrain from protest after reading the letter of W. T. Couch in your issue of March 2. Mr. Couch is convinced that we must eventually take sides in the European conflict—that we shall sooner or later support the governments and economies of France and England rather than see them fall. Mr. Couch says that if we supply the Allies with all the armaments, munitions, and supplies they need, they can almost certainly win the war.

Well, we tried that last time, and our men followed the armaments and munitions—followed them, I have read, as soon as the Allies themselves became unable to furnish enough men to use the supplies being sent. And the sending of our boys did not bring about a peace that proved either just or lasting.

Does Mr. Couch believe, does anyone believe, that Germany, fighting two of the strongest nations in the world, could come off victor except at frightful cost to itself? Would such a Germany be one that an America which had kept out of the conflict need fear? It seems to me that if this war takes its course, Europe will make itself a shambles out of which no nation will come as a "victor." What will it profit Europe or ourselves if we sacrifice our youth to enlarge that shambles?

ELLEN A. FREEMAN

Troy, N. Y., March 7

Blackout in Canada

Dear Sirs: I wish to draw the attention of your readers to the fact that a Union Defense Committee has been formed to aid the defense of C. H. Millard, secretary of the Canadian Committee for Industrial Organization, who faces trial shortly under the Defense of Canada Regulations. Millard was arrested last December for statements he is alleged to have made at an organizational meeting of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers' Union at Timmins, Ontario.

The statements the crown charges

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Millard with making are not different from those made by many persons prominent in Canadian public life. None of these persons have been prosecuted, and no one who believes in democracy thinks they should be.

Trade unionists and progressives believe that the charges against Millard constitute an attempt by Attorney General Conant of Ontario, the Dominion's chief labor-baiting official, to use the Defense Regulations to blackout trade-union activity. It may be significant that Conant was crown attorney at Oshawa in 1937 when Millard was president of the United Auto Workers' Union, which obtained improved conditions despite Premier Mitchell Hepburn's boast that he would ride with General Motors and drive the C. I. O. out of Ontario province.

It seems to us that since industrial democracy is a solid basis for political democracy this attack on trade unionism should be defeated with all the resources available. The defeat of such an attack should have considerable effect in bringing about amendments to the regulations.

Expenditures in connection with the hearing are expected to be considerable. Contributions from all trade unionists and liberal-minded persons will help. They should be addressed to the Union Defense Committee, 302 Manning Chambers, Toronto.

HARRY ROWE, Treasurer

Toronto, March 12

"Four Negroes"

Dear Sirs: May I add a footnote to your superb editorial of February 24, Four Negroes, on the unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court, read by Justice Black, which reversed convictions of four penniless—and, until the N. A. A. C. P. came to their rescue, defenseless—Negro tenant-farmers in Florida who had been cruelly beaten to extort "confessions" of a murder they did not commit.

The victory in this case reminds Americans of two important things: first, how grueling is the struggle and, second, how the fight for one minority directly benefits other minorities and bulwarks democratic rights for all Americans.

Readers of *The Nation* will be interested in knowing that this is the thirteenth victory won in the United States Supreme Court by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It was made possible by the nickels and dimes of colored people and by the self-sacrifice of the two Negro lawyers in the case—S. D. McGill of Florida and Leon A. Ransom of Washington. Both lawyers not only served without fee but paid out of their own pockets some of the expenses of the four appeals to the Florida Supreme Court and the eventual successful appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The N. A. A. C. P. has no endowments and does its work wholly on memberships and contributions. When we won the famous Elaine, Arkansas, riot cases, in which the United States Supreme Court ruled that trials dominated by race prejudice and mob violence violated the federal Constitution, the late Louis Marshal sent us a "thank offering."

We should like to ask readers of *The Nation* to send us "thank offerings" now in the form of memberships or contributions, which will enable us to fight a great number of other equally important cases. Checks should be made payable to Mary White Ovington, treasurer, and sent to 69 Fifth Avenue, New York.

WALTER WHITE,
Secretary, N. A. A. C. P.

New York, March 6

Happy Ending?

Dear Sirs: Regarding your editorial Four Negroes, in your issue of February 24, I would like to state that if Dr. Goebbels files this particular story away I see no reason why he should fail to remember where he placed it. Where is the happy ending that all Americans can be proud of?

True, the Supreme Court saved the lives of the four Negroes. But will they receive any compensation for the seven years they spent in the shadow of death? Will any employee of the state of Florida be punished for the way in which these four defenseless Negroes were treated?

Too many justices of the United States Supreme Court have been satisfied with the passive role of proclaiming doctrine, enunciating stirring canons of liberty and justice; but beyond that they have not gone. So it is pertinent to ask: Will the officials in the state of Florida be allowed to interpret and enforce the law in the future as they have interpreted and enforced it in the past?

ARTHUR PENN

San Francisco, March 11

Prose by Hart Crane

Dear Sirs: I am editing a collection of prose passages from the letters, articles, reviews, and notes of Hart Crane, the American poet. This collection is to be published in the fall, 1940, issue of *Twice a Year,* published semi-annually in New York City.

I should greatly appreciate the privilege of examining any prose of Hart Crane's which has not yet been printed in full in his "Collected Poems" or in the biography by Philip Horton. Full credit will be given. Material may be sent to me at 19 West Thirty-fourth Street.

BROM WEBER

New York, February 23

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